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THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way"—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.
—The Voice of the Silence

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"THUS HAVE I HEARD"—

In every organized religion the most striking phenomenon is the gap in the life of its votaries, between their beliefs and their deeds. Every Christian admits Jesus to be his Saviour but how many endeavour to follow the Way taught in the Sermon on the Mount? Would there be rivalry and competition if all Christians tried to overcome their covetousness for money on the economic plane or for prestige and prominence on the social, or their pride and possessiveness on the political and national? Similarly, every Hindu believes in the immanence of Deity and the solidarity of man. But how many act up to the great teaching that the Mleccha has the Light of Krishna within him? Would there be the degrading practice of untouchability if all Hindus understood and applied the truth of the Upanishad that the same Self shines in all, albeit It does not shine forth equally in all? And that even they in whom the shining forth is meagre yet carry the Light of all lights and therefore are deserving of respect and affection.

The most vital need of humanity today is to seek the way of return to Religion. The foundation of the Temple of Religion is the brotherhood of all, the service of all. The priest repeats the teachings, quoting what he calls, his Holy Writ; but in his personal interpretation he murders the doctrine by disregarding its principle of universality. This priestly way cannot be accepted by the man of real Faith who intuitively feels Divine Presence in all space, Divine Motion in all evolution, Divine Intelligence operating everywhere, God being omniscient. This forces him to conclude that true Religion is different from that religion which the Mandir, the Synagogue, the Church and the Masjid represent.

Religious creeds beget sectarian charities, sectarian educational and social institutions, leading to sectarian exclusiveness, rivalry and hatred. The extent of evil which creedal dogmatic religions perpetrate is not fully recognized. Very little

thought is paid to religious sectarianism as an enemy to secular humanism. False loyalties are more potent for evil than rank disloyalties.

But whence sectarianism and false loyalties? From man himself; his personal feelings usurp, in priestly fashion, the control of his mind. This results in irreligious tendencies —creedalism in belief, unbrotherliness in social behaviour, nationalistic patriotism inimical to internationalism. The *Gita* recommends the rendering of universal service joined to inquiry and search and humility, for then only will the Sages communicate the truth "knowing which thou shalt never again fall into error."

Intellectually it is not very difficult to perceive that Deity is immanent and human solidarity is a fact. Also, it is not hard for the mind to recognize the truth that the One shines in the many and that therefore there are order, rhythm and law in the diversity and manifoldness not only in the human kingdom but in the whole of nature. But such mental perception is not sufficient for the Inner Life. We have to learn to *feel* the reality of that perception. If mental recognition alone does not suffice, feelings not vitalized and energized, enlivened and enlightened by the higher mind also fail.

The outstanding practical questions for the leading of the life of true religion are—(1) how shall I extricate my mind from its thraldom to personal feelings? (2) How shall I train the mind to elevate my feelings to manifest divine virtues in human personality?

The mind must be freed from personal feelings, especially of pride and self-regard. This freedom requires the process of transmutation; not killing out of feelings but transmuting them. The mind flourishes in the world by the force of passion —the personal mind is the passionate mind; it must seek and secure the Light of the Soul, the Dispassionate Thinker. That higher mind brings to the transmuted personality the supernal power of the Paramitas, the Divine Virtues. The person acquires the power to *feel* divinely or spiritually by the activating of devotion which has been latent.

To learn to feel as we learn to think, rightly and righteously, is a duty each person owes to his own soul. We must avoid the way of becoming feeling-less and also avoid falling prey to the lower type of devotion or *bhakti*, so common among the emotion-fraught minds of the religiously inclined.

For one who really desires to practise the dual truth of brotherhood and service, the following instruction of Mahayana Buddhism will prove most useful both for mind and for heart:

Live in the eternal. For this, thou hast to live and breathe in all, as all that thou perceivest breathes in thee; to feel thyself abiding in all things, all things in SELF.

Thou shalt not let thy senses make a playground of thy mind.

Thou shalt not separate thy being from BEING and the rest, but merge the Ocean in the drop, the drop within the Ocean.

So shalt thou be in full accord with all that lives; bear love to men as though they were thy brother-pupils, disciples of one Teacher, the sons of one sweet mother.

Of teachers there are many; the MASTER-SOUL is one, Alaya, the Universal Soul. Live in that MASTER as ITS ray in thee. Live in thy fellows as they live in IT.

SHRAVAKA

WORLD COMMUNITY AND THE HIGHER MORALITY

[This essay by **Dr. John E. Owen** has some practical suggestions about the religion and citizenship of the fast emerging One World and the place of youth in the task to be undertaken.—Ed.]

Throughout man's historical evolution the thinking, obligations, and loyalties of most individuals have been restricted solely to their own immediate group.

In classical antiquity certain rights were recognized as belonging to all citizens, and although comparatively few in any population enjoyed this status, the citizenship principle was an important advance in man's development. Largely through the teachings of far-sighted humanitarian and religious prophets, there later arose the faint glimmerings of the concept of universal human rights which is the foundation of modern democracy.

It was only very slowly that such ideas asserted themselves, for the inertia of narrow loyalties and the laws and customs in which they were embodied were very strong. But in time the higher insights of the ethically enlightened became incorporated into the legal codes and customary expectations of their society and what was once regarded as visionary and dangerously idealistic became placidly accepted as normal, while, in the meantime, denunciations were still being directed at the successive prophets who continued to plead for a more just and humane social order. The evolution of law, religion, statecraft and other phases of human culture can be interpreted, on a long historical view, in terms of man's gradual climb. It has not represented an uninterrupted straight-line course but rather a winding curve with many cultural setbacks, totalitarian retrogressions and reversions to barbarism. But human history does show a general moral advance: concepts of basic rights have evolved, these rights have been extended to ever wider sections of mankind, human knowledge has grown immeasurably and has become more generally accessible, the level of world economic well-being has, in comparison with the past, shown a steady rise; and man's concept of his destiny, his responsibilities and his own ideal potentialities has been enlarged and ennobled.

Yet at every stage in man's social and moral development history shows there have been those whose minds were closed to the possibility or the desirability of future change, or to any need for wider sympathies and obligations than those conventionally current in their immediate society. But enlightened minds in nearly all ages have attested to the

truth of Goethe's view that humanity is the ultimate group. The highest philosophical and religious ethic is always humanity-wide in its application. Moral ideals, by their very nature, have to be universal or they cease to be ideals. The most advanced ethical principles as revealed in the teachings of the great thinkers of both Orient and Occident are grounded in the essential unity of all peoples, the common claims of humanity, rather than being rooted in racial, class, or nationalistic distinctions.

At its present level of development mankind is patently far from approximating such an ideal. Nevertheless, the recognition of what such an ideal involves, together with the growing sense of its possibility, does seem to be becoming a part of the thinking of people today in various parts of the world.

What are the ingredients of such a higher ethic as will be needed to create and to sustain one united world? The essential quality of such an ethic would lie in its universality. It would transcend a selfish nationalism and would embrace the level of commonalty or world-community.[1] "Only that which is universal, in obliging us to concern ourselves with all beings, brings us truly into relationship with the Universe and the will which manifests itself in it," declares Dr. Albert Schweitzer.[2] Universality is not something vague or nebulous. In the second half of the 20th century it has become not merely a moral ideal but a practical necessity. Aviation has rendered the modern world a group of neighbourhoods and human tensions anywhere have global repercussions. This is a new condition but its demands have been anticipated for centuries in democratic and religious ideology.

A universal ethic, while allowing for the creative rôle of cultural and national differences, would involve a recognition of the elemental rights of all peoples everywhere. It would engender in men a realization that they have far more in common with all other human beings than they had hitherto been aware, and that the fundamental elements they share in common are more important than the differences that separate them.

A high morality would insist upon the fulfilling of the basic needs of all human beings and the exercise of their fundamental human rights. Physical needs are common to all men yet, despite the achievements of modern science, half the world is hungry every night. No ethic can be said to be either realistic or mature that does not recognize and demand the fulfilling of mankind's physical need for food, clothing, shelter and health. If such needs were more universally met the qualities of the spirit would have room

[1] This concept is elaborated by Dr. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE in his new work, *The Dynamics of Morals, A Socio-psychological Theory of Ethics*, 1951.

[2] ALBERT SCHWEITZER, "The Problem of Ethics for Twentieth Century Man," *The Saturday Review*, June 13, 1953, p. 48.

to develop. For man has psychological needs which transcend the physical, though they presuppose a certain irreducible minimum of physical well-being. A sense of psychological security must be engendered in men if their irrational hatreds and frustrations are to be overcome. No social system that fails to promote the sense of belonging, of fulfillment of talents in a satisfying life and work, of sharing in creative and useful tasks, can long endure. For a prime psychological necessity of individuals is that of feeling needed and wanted. Yet the affluent often appear to be as devoid of this security as do the dispossessed.

Militarism, imperialism, racialism and extreme individualism are all expressions of the urge to *get*, whether the object of acquisition be wealth and power or prestige and ego-satisfaction. They represent the undeveloped levels of the human heart and mind in which an underlying sense of psychological insecurity plays its part. The unwillingness of any group of individuals to grant to all men those rights upon which it insists for itself is a symptom of this inner insecurity. Hatred or fear of other races and nationalities is often a case of misplaced aggression. Feeling fearful or frustrated, men turn their thwarted impulses against other groups or against the ethical idealists whose humanitarian aspirations they regard as a threat to the advantages they now enjoy. An underlying sense of security, based not merely upon economic sufficiency but also upon belief in the power of cosmic forces, could go far toward eradicating the irrational ego-drives, compulsions, and frustrated urges that involve a perversion of the will-to-live into the will-to-power.

A higher morality would eventuate in a human culture that so fulfilled the psychic urges of its participants as to lessen their felt need for hatred of other national groups and their different ways. For the mature self does not fall prey to the primitive tendency to associate itself with the comforting symbols of its group affiliations. It is the undeveloped ego that has to identify itself exclusively with its race or nationality, regarding any criticism of these as a criticism of itself. The tendency to place one's own group at the centre of one's loyalties as the sole arbiter of right and wrong is similar evidence of an undeveloped moral sense. The ultimate values of a high morality look beyond these narrow national limits. "*Those values are supreme,*" says a modern sociologist, "*which are positively important to all mankind.*"[3]

An ethic adequate for the demands of a united world would be grounded upon genuine respect for the diverse ways of its component societies, and would instill into the members of different cultures a recognition of their mutual destiny

[3] FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, "Should Sociologists be also Philosophers of Values?" *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December, 1952, p. 82.

and common humanity. While granting a place for justifiable pride in the specific achievements and contributions of particular groupings, it would hold no brief for the attitude of mind that sees no value in any other culture than its own. It would respect the customs and aspirations of all men, for it would be supported by a quality of spiritual faith that was not bound by purely local or provincial conceptions.

Notwithstanding the numerous forms that man's religion has assumed and the diverse practices and codes it has sponsored, it is, in its universal essence, "a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness, conceived as a cosmic demand."[4] A world faith would instill, not doctrines or dogmas, but rather what Dr. Schweitzer has called the "reverence for life."

An enlightened ethic would need the support of a world faith free from exclusiveness, including an affirmation of the value of all life, not given to identifying itself with local peculiarities but with absolute reality. Indeed:—

> Religion contains the release from all localism, and from all historical accidents. It crosses every boundary between man and man, and between the earliest man and the latest in time. It is the farthest reach of universality of which the race is capable.[5]

World unity would make many demands on religion as it manifests itself in several parts of the world today. It would, for example, necessitate the giving up of the ethnocentric idea of "the one true faith" to which all too many adherents of different ideologies still cling. The concept of absolute sovereignty is no more valid in the realm of religion than in the realm of politics. Religion on its more highly developed levels involves, not a claim to possess absolute truth, but rather a concern for a quality of life that relates men to a cosmic force beyond themselves. The great faiths, it is now recognized, have many essentials in common and the spiritual reality they seek to convey is larger and deeper than any one particular view can conceive. In a world religion, old symbols would be redefined in such a way as to be reconciled with those of other faiths and their hitherto hidden identities of meaning would be revealed. Similarly, a world faith, the product of the great living religions, would stress the concept of man's power to evolve to higher spiritual levels. It would transcend the view that doctrines are unchangeable, that a profession of faith is good once and for all and that religion is essentially a matter of belief, of holding to a creed. For the virtues of any high religion are always demanding virtues. They involve the relinquishing of any claim to exclusive spiritual truth and the development of tolerance and understanding.

[4] WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, *Living Religions and a World Faith*, 1940, p. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

They call for an active and sensitive conscience and for the striving after spiritual renewal on the part of every individual being.[6]

It would be a truism to state that such an ideal can only be slowly evolved. The great intellectual and spiritual leaders of the past were far in advance of the average mind of the present. Religious truths only gradually permeate through society, yet the human past does show that higher insights do eventually become incorporated into the moral level of succeeding ages.

Similarly, a united world involves the demand for an education for world citizenship. In the space of this article it is only possible to give a brief outline of some of the facets of this type of education. It would be moral education in the widest sense, imbuing tolerance and sympathy for the values of the world's diverse cultures, and everywhere bringing youth into direct contact with students from other areas. The intercultural institutes and international summer schools now being held all over the free world anticipate this newer education for world living, as they are conscious efforts to build up a mutual exchange of knowledge and understanding.[7] The university today represents one of the hopes of the world; its values and ideals cross national boundaries. It points to creative possibilities of cultural cooperation that are at present beyond the ability of many persons even to conceive. Its bringing together of international view-points, contributions and thought-systems, augurs well for the future. Education for world living repudiates the superstitious notion that there need be any barriers to the achievements of man's mind. It rejects the limits erected in less free eras by the fearful and the culturally enslaved. It works to eliminate the collective symbols that different groups entertain regarding themselves and others, symbols which perpetuate selfish attachments and block the vision of world community.

"World-mindedness" and the ethical level of attitude that it involves will not be the product of any one force. It is more likely to be the result of many factors: technological advance, rising living standards, more widespread international education and the breaking down of religious exclusiveness and ideas of national and cultural superiority.

If the present world crisis can be transcended there is ultimate ground for hope. For our civilization is only a recent arrival on the earth and its future advances can but be dreamed of as yet. The trend of human evolution to date has been toward the elimination of narrow group barriers and the rise of wider associations and attachments. The emergence in the last few years of

[6] LEWIS MUMFORD, *The Condition of Man*, 1944, and *The Conduct of Life*, 1951.

[7] RALPH E. PICKETT, "Education at Transnational Level," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 26, December, 1952, pp. 146-148.

such organizations of world reconstruction as Unesco, WHO, and FAO give cause for hope. Humanity *is* moving toward one world, whether it wills it so or not.

The principle of allegiance to the good of the world as a whole, in preference to the nationalism by which men think only of their own country, is now generally accepted both in the Charter of U.N. and the practice of the more enlightened governments. To be a nationalist is to be a confessed sinner.

So says Dr. Gilbert Murray, who sees as significant achievements the post-war work of technical aid, the refugee service and the outpouring of spontaneous help to the suffering of the world.[8]

The community of belief among scholars and thinkers is another sign of a united world in the making. In discussing a recent series of philosophical essays by thinkers of both the Orient and the West, Dr. Robert Bierstedt legitimately maintains that :—

We can take comfort, and hope, from the fact that they understand each other even when they disagree. We can note with reassurance that their controversies do not divide them on Eastern and Western lines. There is music in the hemispheres.[9]

Finally, a united world requires as an essential prerequisite the *belief* that such a world is possible. "The moral tetanus due to the rooted suspicion of human nature. . .that the ideal is a *mere ideal*, an eternal Platonism, has to be broken. To break that palsy would be to release for action the torrent of the pent-up idealism of mankind. . ."

Historians of ideas may look back to the middle years of the 20th century as a signal epoch in man's development. For, despite world conflict, among civilized and far-seeing men today the belief is widely current that an eventual world community is being born, though they may not expect its full fruition in their own lifetimes. But the reality of the *belief in its eventual possibility* embodies seeds of hope for the future.

JOHN E. OWEN

One can neither weigh nor measure the evil that false religion has caused and is still causing. Religion is the establishment of the relation that exists between man, God, and the universe, and the definition of man's mission that results from it. How miserable our lives would be if this relation and this definition were false.

—LEO TOLSTOY

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[8] GILBERT MURRAY, "Hellene and Barbarian," (BBC talk), *The Listener*, May 21, 1953, p. 838.

[9] ROBERT BIERSTEDT, "Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Preacher of the Unified Mind," *The Saturday Review*, June 27, 1953, p. 13.

EVA GORE-BOOTH

[**Mr. R. M. Fox** has contributed to our pages many biographical sketches of political and labour leaders of his native Ireland, bringing to life for our readers many who had formerly been only familiar names. In this article he presents his countrywoman, Eva Gore-Booth, a fine and sensitive soul, best known for the wistful charm of her poetry but who deserves to be remembered also for the humanitarian spirit that kept her active in public causes uncongenial to poets of the Ivory Tower.—ED.]

One of the poets of the Celtic Twilight period whose work has been neglected in recent years is Eva Gore-Booth, daughter of Sir Henry Gore-Booth and sister of Constance, better known in Irish history as the Countess Markievicz. In quantity as well as quality Eva Gore-Booth's work entitles her to a distinguished place, for she has written 10 books of poetry, a prose play, *The Sword of Justice*, and three books of essays. Her life spanned the period between May 22nd, 1870, and June 30th, 1926. She died in London.

She left Ireland in her early twenties, travelling first in the West Indies and America with her father and then—in 1897—settling in Manchester, where she was active in many progressive causes, particularly those concerned with the economic, cultural and political advancement of women. Perhaps her life and interests in Britain helped to detach her from that group whose names are usually associated with the Celtic Literary Revival. But the leaders of that movement fully accepted her as one of themselves, as indeed her work demonstrated.

In the years when the landowners and aristocrats in Ireland were not noted for their sympathy with the people, the Gore-Booths always had a reputation for it. The Secretary of a Relief Committee in Sligo wrote:—

In 1879-1880 we had a famine in Ireland, and Relief Committees in every parish...Her father, Sir Henry Gore-Booth, kept an open store of food at Lissadell, giving out meal, etc. to the starving poor, free to all, at his own cost, and I believe all the members of his family assisted in doing so.

At this time Eva would have been 9 or 10 and always the formative influences of those early years stayed with her, evident in her poetry no less than in her social activities. Another lasting influence was the beauty of the Sligo mountains and the haunting memory of the sea at Lissadell.

As long ago as 1897 Eva Gore-Booth published her first book of poems and W. B. Yeats greeted it enthusiastically, saying: "I think it is full of poetic feeling and has great promise. 'Weariness' is really most imaginative and is, I think...in the mood in which you are most yourself. The last four lines are really magical."

The closing verse of this poem reads :—

For silence is the song sublime,
And every voice at last must cease,
And all the world at evening time
Floats downward through the gates of peace,
Beyond the gloom of shadowy caves
Where water washes on the stones,
And breaks with quiet, foamless waves
The night's persistent monotones :
The stars are what the flowers seem,
And where the sea of thought is deep,
The moonlight glitters like a dream,
On weary waters gone to sleep.

Here is the authentic note of the Celtic Twilight period, the mood of shadowy splendour which Irish poets of the period expressed to the delight of the reading world. Eva Gore-Booth received much praise for her delicate, sensitive verses, rated by a leading English critic as second only to the work of one writer of the Celtic Revival. In 1904 she published the volume *Unseen Kings*, including a play on the death of Cuchulain.

About this last A. E. wrote to her : "I congratulate you on your *Cuchulain*. I think it is very beautiful and full of mystery. I always thought your imagination would incarnate finally in its best form in Irish subjects....I think your work would do admirably for the Red Branch Cycle performances we hope to have in the autumn here....I feel you belong to the spiritual clan of new Irish people, some of whom write and more do not, but all know that *Tir na nog* is no dream and that inwardly we are inhabitants of it and breathe a common air."

Later this play was performed at the Abbey Theatre by a company which Count Markievicz and his wife had founded.

Among her early poems I have found one, "Clouds," which shows how she was drawn to the idea of militant struggle in the cause of Irish independence. She writes :—

See, amid the shadows where dead Ireland lies,
Justice stands, the future flashes from her eyes :
After thy new birth of travail and of pain,
Rise, she says, dead nation, live and hope again.

Nay, not dead but sleeping ; surely she shall wake,
In her mighty hands her life and honour take,
Drink the wine of courage, break the bread of life,
Bear the sword of Freedom foremost in the strife.

A slim book of verse with a primrose-coloured cover was published in Dublin in 1918. She called it *Broken Glory*. Printed on the cover are the significant words "Passed by Censor." This refers to the military censorship of those troubled times. Here are the lines on "Easter Week" :—

Grief for the noble dead,
Of one who did not share their strife,
And mourned that any blood was shed,
Yet felt the broken glory of their state
Their strange heroic questioning of Fate
Ribbon with gold the rags of this our life.

A number of poems are written to her sister. One "To Constance—In Prison" succeeds in recapturing the glory of Lissadell where they had spent their childhood. The closing verse reads :—

Yours is that inner Ireland beyond green fields and brown
Where waves break dawn-enchanted on the haunted Rosses shore.

And clouds above Ben Bulben fling their coloured shadows down
Whilst little rivers shine and sink in wet sands at Crushmor.

In "The Triumph of Maeve" those early memories of Sligo rise again. She wrote these lines on her return after a visit to Sligo.

The foamless waves are falling soft on the sands of Lissadell
And the world is wrapped in quiet and a floating dream of gray;
But the wild winds of the twilight blow straight from the haunted hill
And the stars come out of the darkness and shine over Knocknarea—
I have seen Maeve of the Battles wandering over the hill.

Her "Little Waves of Breffny" has long ago achieved recognition as one of the finest Irish lyrics:—

The great waves of the Atlantic sweep storming on their way,
Shining green and silver with the hidden herring shoal;
But the little waves of Breffny have drenched my heart in spray,
And the little waves of Breffny go stumbling through my soul.

Although Eva Gore-Booth was delicate from childhood she was not content to devote her life to poetry alone. She had an eager sympathy for the poor and the suffering. At 22, when she went to Manchester, she interested herself at once in the organization of trade unions for women and also in the movement for woman's suffrage. She acted as Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Women's Trade Union Council. She edited a paper, *The Women's Labour News*, and did much public work, largely foreign to her temperament, because she felt it was necessary. In one verse she left a record of a public meeting at which she spoke. She called this "The Street Orator":—

At Clitheroe from the Market Square
I saw rose-lit the mountains gleam
I stood before the people there
And spake as in a dream.

This reads like one of those gatherings at which the poet William Morris used to speak. But her work was practical for all her dreaming. Besides the activities already mentioned, she helped to run a reading circle and founded a dramatic group. Later, in London, she was active in social causes but still she poured out poems, verse plays and essays distinguished for beauty, grace and that eager giving of her personality which was a leading characteristic of her work.

Eva Gore-Booth was a true mystic always seeking to find and express the Inner Light behind the appearance of things She was a confirmed pacifist and believed in the sword of the spirit. As she put it in her play, *The Sword of Justice*, "A sword alone is an uncertain weapon." I met her first early in the First World War, when she was speaking at a peace meeting in London. It was held in a small hall and I acted as her chairman. It was a stormy time but she had a peaceful tranquillity of spirit. I remember that she read her speech, but it was framed in such sensitive clear-cut words that there was none of the dulness usually associated with a written speech.

"I am," she began cheerfully, "one of those quite hopeless people

who do not believe in fighting under any circumstances."

Although she was such a fighting pacifist it was her fate to be introduced always as the sister of the Countess Markievicz who had fought so valiantly in the Easter Rising. She told me so, ruefully but with a smile, after I had mentioned this interesting fact to the audience. But actually the coupling of Eva Gore-Booth with her militant sister was not so incongruous as might appear. They were both united in their sympathy with suffering and their love of freedom. Though their methods differed they were working for the same end.

Always there was the greatest understanding between these sisters —one a warrior, the other a pacifist. *The Death of Fionavar*, Eva's poetic play, was decorated by Constance Markievicz with drawings of wild, proud horses. Those streaming manes and tossing heads expressed as much the mood of the poet as of the artist. This play is dedicated to "The Many who died for Freedom and the One (Francis Sheehy Skeffington) who died for Peace."

Eva Gore-Booth was careless of fame and money. Her poems were given to obscure little journals standing for causes in which she believed. And yet some of the finest poets among her contemporaries in Ireland and in Britain gave generous recognition to her work. It was a time of unfolding and blossoming in the arts and this does not go with any petty, grudging spirit. After her death a complete edition of her poems was published by Longmans, Green and Company in 1929.

I saw her for the last time a few months before her death at her home in Hampstead. She had been very ill and was paler than usual. Her pale gold hair was loosely coiled and her blue eyes were filled as ever with eager interest. She was seated by a table piled with books and a reading lamp was at her elbow. She was wearing a blue velvet jacket and the brown rug over her knees kept slipping down as she talked with animation. She was as fragile as an arum lily. She spoke of plays and books, of the state of Europe, of the industrial depression which England was facing and of her hopes for Ireland. The only thing she refused to discuss was her illness.

The spirit of poetry has changed greatly from that Celtic Twilight splendour and the tranquil mystical beauty which she expressed in her work. But that work and her spirit remain to us a possession as real as the great shoulder of Ben Bulben standing out of the Irish mists or the foamless waves which still fall on the sands of Lissadell.

R. M. Fox

ZEN BUDDHISM

[**Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki,** the world-known authority on Mahayana Buddhism, delivered on June 19th a lecture which we publish here in somewhat condensed form, speaking under the auspices of the Branch of the Indian Institute of Culture of Basavangudi, Bangalore, which was recently opened at 62, Queen's Gardens, London, W. 2.

An article from the pen of this distinguished Buddhologist appeared in our pages in January 1936, under the title : " The Message of Bodhidharma : Founder of Zen Buddhism." He has published many books and studies in his chosen field. Dr. Suzuki's late wife, Mrs. Beatrice Lane Suzuki, who shared his scholarly interest in Buddhism and was Joint Editor with him of the *Eastern Buddhist,* was also an honoured contributor to our early volumes.—ED.]

" Zen " is an abbreviation of *Za-zen,* which is Japanese ; the Chinese original is *Ch'an* which is the translation of the Sanskrit term *Dhyana* ; in Pali it is *Janna.* Chinese scholars do not like to use the original Sanskrit terms ; they prefer every Sanskrit term to be translated into Chinese. When they find the Chinese equivalent of the original Sanskrit, then they try to blend the Chinese with the Sanskrit ; a kind of hybrid is created in that way. To the Chinese mind these hybrid terms are very expressive and long usage has established words in that hybrid terminology as technical terms.

Now the terms *Ch'an* and *Za-zen* have been dropped and " Zen " alone is used. That means *Janna,* which, in its original sense, means " meditation " ; not exactly meditation as used in the West although something very similar to it. So *Janna* we may take to mean meditation, contemplation, tranquillization or concentration ; such terms nearly express the original meaning of *Janna,* but not exactly. But the way in which Zen Buddhism uses the term " Zen " is quite different from its original meaning. This has to be emphasized at the outset.

Zen developed in China in the 8th century. It is traditionally ascribed to Bodhidharma, known as Tamo in China and Daruma in Japan. Bodhidharma came to China from India in the 6th century but what he taught was not exactly what came to be known as Zen. Zen really developed about 150 or 200 years after Bodhidharma came.

The real founder of Zen in China is known as Hui Neng, Wei Lang, or Yeno. What distinguished Hui Neng from his predecessors and from the rest of the Chinese Buddhist teachers is this, which really constitutes the essence of Zen teaching :

Enlightenment is an experience which Buddha had and through which he was able to teach Buddhism. Buddhism really means " the Doctrine of Enlightenment." *Prajna*

is used quite frequently as synonymous with enlightenment.

In China, previous to Yeno, it had been thought that this enlightenment could be attained only after one had practised *Janna*, and attained proficiency in meditation. Yeno maintained that *Prajna* and *Janna* should go together; neither alone would do. These two are considered most essential in the study of Buddhism.

There are three forms of discipline in the observance of Buddhism: (1) moral precepts, *i.e.*, non-stealing, etc.; (2) *Janna* or Zen; and (3) *Prajna*. Leaving aside the first, let us begin with Zen or *Janna* and *Prajna*. Yeno said that *Janna* is *Prajna* and *Prajna* is *Janna*. Those two are not to be separated; one does not begin with *Janna* and then obtain *Prajna*. Where there is *Prajna* there is *Janna*, and *vice versa*. When one is attained the other comes with it; no separation between them is possible. This was his original teaching.

So when we say "Zen Buddhism," this "Zen" is used in a somewhat different sense from the ordinary one. Usually "Zen" is meditation, concentration or contemplation but in Zen Buddhism "Zen" is used not in that sense but as synonymous with *Prajna*. To understand Zen Buddhism, therefore, it is necessary to know that *Dhyana* is not something different from *Prajna* and that *Prajna* is not something obtained after Zen is obtained. When we practise *Janna*, that is the very moment that *Prajna* unfolds itself. This was the original teaching of Yeno and it was the beginning of Zen Buddhism.

One day a Chinese Government Officer who was also a poet and a painter called on the immediate disciple of Yeno and asked:—"What is this one way; what is the teaching of your school which denies the distinction between "Zen" and "*Prajna*"? The disciple of Yeno replied: "Zen is where you are talking; you ask a question and Zen is there. It is not that one comes before the other; they are simultaneous. When you talk to me there is Zen; there is *Prajna*; they are not different."

To express this in a more modern way: while we are doing, thinking and feeling, there is this identity of Zen and *Prajna*. This spatial intuitive knowledge is not to be developed after the practice of Zen. *Prajna* is where Zen is.

Prajna is another difficult term to translate into English. We generally use "Transcendental Wisdom" or "Intuitive Knowledge" to express *Prajna*. The Chinese, in spite of their dislike for foreign languages, used a term which is the Chinese translation of *Prajna*. *Prajna* is something which our discursive knowledge cannot attain. It belongs to a different category from mere knowledge. Buddhists emphasize this distinction very much; they say, not knowing, but knowing and seeing; these two must come together.

To know there must be two—subject and object.

Now, seeing is not just knowing about something; seeing is directly seeing it. Knowing and seeing are generally coupled in Buddhist teaching; knowing is not enough; seeing must come with knowing. In the West you distinguish between knowing and seeing. Knowing is philosophical, knowing about; and seeing is seeing directly, personally, *i.e.*, by personal experience. Knowing always requires a mediator but seeing is direct, yet in seeing we do not generally see things directly. When we think we see something, that seeing is not real from the Zen point of view. When you see a flower, for example, not only must you see it but the flower must see you also; otherwise there is no real seeing. Seeing is really my seeing the flower and the flower seeing me. When this seeing is mutual there is real seeing.

Certain scholars say that when we think we see the flower, we put our feelings into the flower. My thinking or seeing or your thinking or seeing is put into the flower and the flower is given life. But, to the Zen way of thinking, there is no transference of my imagination into the flower. The flower itself is living and, as a living thing, sees me. So my seeing is also the flower seeing. When this takes place there is real seeing. When this end is achieved, *i.e.*, when my seeing becomes the flower seeing, then there is real communication or real identification of the flower with myself, of subject with object. When this mutual identification takes place, the flower is myself and I am the flower.

A Chinese scholar once asked a Zen Master: "One of the earlier Buddhist philosophers said: 'Heaven and earth are of the same source; 10,000 things and I are one.'" He added: "Is this not a wonderful saying?" The Master looked at a flower in the courtyard and said: "Men of the world see this flower as in a dream," meaning that their seeing is not real seeing, which implies that for real seeing it is necessary for me to see the flower and for the flower to see me. When this is mutual and identification takes place, then there is real seeing. Then we experience what the Buddhist scholar stated in the passage just quoted: "Heaven and earth are of the same source; 10,000 things and I are one."

But this is mere abstract talk and so long as we are dealing with abstractions there is no actual experience. The Zen Master pointed out this fact to his disciple: "Instead of talking about abstractions or quoting what others have said, do look at this flower which is now becoming and identify yourself with it, not as if you are in a dream, but see in actual reality the flower itself. Then you see that the whole universe is nothing but the expression of one's own mind."

Before I left Japan I read in an English journal an interesting article by a Russian whose idea was this:

"The objective world can exist only in my subjectivity; the objective world does not really exist until it is experienced by this subjectivity or myself." That is something like Berkeley's Idealism. One day this Russian was riding his bicycle and he collided with a lorry; the driver was very angry but the Russian kept on saying: "The world is nothing but my subjectivity." On another occasion when he was thinking in the ordinary way, there was no collision but something else happened and he was awakened to this truth: "There is nothing but my subjectivity." When he experienced this, he had quite an illumination and he said to a friend, "Everything is in everything else." That means that all things are the same but he did not say that; he said: "Everything, each individual object, is in each other individual object. So this world of multitudes is not denied, as each thing is in every other one." This is most significant. When he expressed this to his friend, the friend could not understand but later he attained the same experience. This is *Prajna*; this is transcendental wisdom, and when this intuition is attained, we have Zen. Zen is no other than this intuitive knowledge.

I must say more about this intuitive knowledge, or direct seeing. For example, if we touch fire the finger is burned; I feel intuitively that fire is dangerous without having to reason about it. When people talk about intuition it is connected with individual objects. There is someone who has an intuition and something in regard to which he has it. There is nothing between subject and object. These intuitions may take place immediately, *i.e.*, without any intermediary; nevertheless there are subject and object, though their relationship is immediate instead of being through an intermediate agent. This kind of intuition we talk very much about but the intuition that Zen talks about is identification-seeing. That is, when I see the flower and the flower sees me, this kind of intuition or mutual identification is not individual seeing; it is not individual intuition. "I see the flower and the flower sees me" means that the flower ceases to be a flower. I cease to be myself. Instead there is unification. The flower vanishes into something higher than a flower and I vanish into that something higher than any individual object.

Now when this levelling up takes place, this being absorbed into something higher than each relative being, it does not mean merely being absorbed; there is intuition, awakening, there is something that acknowledges itself to be itself, not annihilation or mere absorption into the void. This "annihilation" is accompanied by intuition and that is the most important point. When this takes place there is real seeing of the flower. Therefore we can say that this—my seeing the flower and the flower seeing me—takes place on a plane higher than that where the

flower is seen as an individual flower and I am seen as an individual being. When there is absorption of the individual into something higher, there is intuition. This is most important. This is in accordance with the original teaching of Wei Lang. *Prajna* is *Janna*.

Earlier teachers than Yeno had stated that when *Janna* was practised all things vanished and there was nothing left. By this it was meant that no individual thing was left; but there is something which is not an individual object; there is a perception of something and this perception is intuition. This intuition is *Prajna* or enlightenment and Yeno most strongly emphasized this.

Now it may not be quite clear what Zen is driving at. I have a book here which contains all the Zen sayings, starting with those of Bodhidharma. Bodhidharma may be a fictitious individual but that does not matter; Yeno is historical. From him down to the early part of the Sung Dynasty, about 900 years ago, this book contains all those Chinese sayings called *Mondo*. The mind revolves, *i.e.*, works, operates as it faces 10,000 situations. When I see this lamp I see it illuminated; when I touch this table, it is hard; so my mind moves along; when I am struck, I feel. The mind moves in this way from one sense to another just as things come along. This moving of the mind is most subtle, obscure and mysterious.

When this table is struck I feel, but who is it that feels? What is it that feels? When you try to get that person or mind or soul or spirit out here and see it, you cannot. There is something you would like to get out of yourself but you cannot; soul or spirit moves on all the time and this moving on is subtle. When it is working in such a subtle way, when it is going on, you can get hold of that something which cannot be taken hold of. Then you have it. When you have that, then there is real wisdom or *Prajna*. When you have this *Prajna*, then you are entirely free from all sorrows, afflictions and all other things.

Now when I speak of being free from desires, tensions, fears, etc., you may think that the understanding of Zen will turn you into a piece of wood, insensitive, indifferent; but I do not say this. When I strike the table it feels pain as much as I would. You may say, "This is insane; it is not so." Everything is filled with sense, mind, heart. So when Buddha says to be free from desires and afflictions, this does not mean to become like a piece of wood; it means to make a piece of wood turn into a sensitive being. In a Chinese Zen monastery they have a heavy stick made of one piece of wood which they strike with a hammer and it is very sensitive. When a monk struck this, the Master said: "I have a pain." That is not exaggerated; it really takes place. When they see a worm on the ground Buddhists try to avoid stepping on it. You may say that you cannot

move an inch because something would be trodden on and die. True, you cannot move if you pursue this practice in its relative sense. But actually, when you have this intuitive understanding of things, you are like St. Francis of Assisi when he talked about "Our Brother Sun" and "Sister Moon" and befriended wolves and birds; he took everything as his own brother. His feeling was moving along the same lines, so there is no difference between the Christian and the Buddhist experience of final reality.

When Zen people talk about not having any feeling whatever, that does not mean no feeling on the relative plane, but no feeling based on selfish interests. To have no pain, no desires, does not mean to become cold ashes; it means to have no feeling in connection with selfish ideas. So long as we are individuals, we cannot but be selfish to some extent but this selfishness is not separate from that which is more than self. When self stays as self and does not expand to something higher than itself, that is the relative self. But when self finds itself enveloped, a component in something which is much wider and deeper, then it is not merely the relative self. When that kind of self is realized, enlightenment takes place. Zen Buddhism tries to make us attain that end.

Most Christians think that Christ was historically born at a certain place and time but, according to Eckhart, the great German philosopher of the 13th century, Christ is born in every one of us. When that is so, the relative self dies to itself and that relative self becomes empty. When the experience of uniformity, sameness and sensitivity takes place in our soul, it is then that Christ is born there. So every impediment or faulty particle of that which we call ourselves ought to be purged and the self ought to become really empty.

This is quite different from the ordinary Christian way of understanding the birth of Christ but Eckhart had no knowledge whatever of Buddhism and Buddha had no knowledge of him, yet their teachings coincide perfectly. When I read Eckhart, I seem to be reading a Buddhist text with but a different terminology; so far as inner comprehension is concerned, they are the same. This comprehension corresponds to intuition. Prehension is only grasping and touch is, I suppose, the most primitive sense, but this gives the purest feeling of identity; so prehension, taking hold of by the hand, is necessary. Sight is the most intellectual sense and hearing is next but there is a great distance between them and their object; whereas with touch there is an immediate coming together. We must experience that. It is the same as intuition, not just relative intuition but collective or total intuition. When this takes place there is real understanding of reality and the experience of enlightenment. This is what constitutes the teaching of Zen as first taught by Yeno, Hui Neng or Wei Lang in the 8th century.

D. T. SUZUKI

REINCARNATION

" THE WHEEL IS COME FULL CIRCLE "

[**Mr. Charles J. Seymour,** the author of several books on psychical phenomena and related subjects as well as a writer on economics and commercial law, writes of the growing interest in the West in the doctrine of rebirth. Reincarnation has been well called " the lost chord of Christianity, " strange as it has come to seem to a theology so largely cut off from its roots. This " doctrine of hope, " with its twin teaching, Karma, the " doctrine of responsibility, " was taught by Jesus as well as by other spiritual teachers. Together, they are deemed by many to afford the soundest basis for right ethics, a self-compelling basis such as neither the lure of a hypothetical heaven nor the fear of a melodramatic hell—least of all a facile expediency of the moment—can provide.—ED.]

A short time ago an English Sunday paper carried out a " Gallup Poll " or mass enquiry among its readers on the subject of reincarnation. The result as announced by the editor was remarkable: that as high a ratio as one in eight of the persons who took part " declared for some form of rebirth. " Even some five per cent of the professed adherents of various denominations of the Christian faith who sent replies were said to have subscribed to the belief (in " some form " or other). Can it be that the doctrine, after a long period of eclipse in the Western world, is approaching something in the nature of a renaissance there ?

I believe this is indeed happening, for there are other evidences of a marked revival of interest in the question. For example, and this is important, it is not uncommon nowadays to come across references to it in various " lay " publications of the thoughtful type to which, apparently, it was formerly taboo. In these cases mention is sometimes made not only of the fact that a growing number of contemporary writers who are, or were, generally regarded as " apostles of this world " (such as Aldous Huxley) now accept reincarnation, or touch upon it in their works (Shaw, Wells and others), but also that a considerable body of outstanding Western philosophers, dramatists, essayists, poets and other literary figures of the past have referred to, and in some cases endorsed, the doctrine.

What is the explanation of this present-day accumulating interest in the subject, which is, I feel, indubitable ? A brief historical survey may help to bring it to light.

The doctrine of reincarnation is ancient and was known in the East. Slowly it spread throughout the world, and we know that in course of time Pythagoras taught it, and Plato also, in the last book of the

Republic (and, as pointed out by the Indian Institute of Culture last year, he further implied a former existence also in the *Meno*, the *Phædrus* and the *Phædo*); Virgil also appears to have taken it for granted.

Then in the New Testament there is the significant statement by Jesus (*Matt.* 17: 12): "But I say unto you, That Elias is come already, and they knew him not..."—whereupon, it is stated, the disciples understood that Jesus spoke to them of John the Baptist.

May not this be taken as evidence of a fairly general knowledge and acceptance of reincarnation as a doctrine in Jesus' time? Statements by some of the early Christian Fathers point to this having been so. Plotinus, the Neoplatonist, much of whose teaching has passed into Christian philosophy, wrote:—

> It is a *universally admitted belief* that the soul commits sins, expiates them, undergoes punishment in the invisible world, and passes into new bodies.

And he makes frequent reference to reincarnation in the *Enneads*, actually using the words "former life" and "successive existences." Origen and St. Clement, both Christian Fathers, also imply a former existence (the first in *De Principiis* and *Contra Celsum* and the latter in his *Exhortations to the Pagans*).

Then we pass to a time when the doctrine came to be "officially" condemned—by the Second Council of Constantinople, which in 553 A.D. issued the pronunciamento:—

> Whoever shall support the mythical doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul and the consequent wonderful opinion of its return, let him be anathema.

Other similar *ex cathedra* utterances followed in the succeeding centuries, and so a new orientation in this matter was thrust upon the Western world, and reincarnation became, perforce (for he would be a bold spirit who in those days should dare to challenge the ecclesiastical *ipse dixit*), a heretical doctrine.

It would seem probable, however, that even without these threats of excommunication the idea of reincarnation would not have persisted in Europe much longer, for the trend of development of human consciousness up to and after the Middle Ages would, one feels, have turned men's minds from the thought in any case. As men came to give more and more attention to the external world, it was inevitable that there should be some forsaking of the inner life; and so they increasingly lost touch with the ancient psychic faculties and with spiritual realities. Later, the growth of physical science which the discoveries and dissertations of Galileo, Kepler and others made possible, widened the breach.

In those terms, I think, may the disappearance of (or, shall we say, the comparative indifference to) the idea of reincarnation in the West for many centuries, be explained. Man's powers of insight and intuition had gradually withered: forget-

fulness of the ancient teaching as to reincarnation was but one of the signs of his increasing materialism.

Men's thoughts are returning to the doctrine in these days because, it seems, "the wheel is come" almost "full circle." The old scientific materialism, based on the concept of the universe as a "fortuitous concourse of atoms" and of "the world as a vast machine," which for so long diverted man from contemplation and evaluation of his inner life, has been discredited—and by Science itself: the previous "tangible ultimates" of the world have disappeared in favour of electrical charges and "point events."

Bereft, now, of the "certainties" of materialistic science, men are seeking a new basis for their thoughts about the universe—and also, it follows necessarily, about themselves. The more we find out about the "mechanism" of the universe, the more we are compelled to try to "get behind" the phenomena, and so the tendency is to infer the operation of mind, consciousness, thought, spirit—however the practical man may choose to term the substratum. Even the scientists themselves, for the necessary purposes of their studies, are being forced to consider philosophical implications which once they not only *could*, but found it useful to, ignore.

So, as our bodies and brains are part of the world's phenomena, we needs must give increasing attention to ourselves, and as we do so more and more we understand that the phenomenal man cannot be an ultimate, for self-analysis reveals in oneself a succession of psychic, mental and emotional states which arise out of, and are only valid for, the conditions under which one functions in the world—that is to say, one's environment. One sees that these states or phases are transient, so that the "I" of yesterday is not the "I" of today.

As Christopher Isherwood puts it, man

> is a constellation of desires and impulses. He reflects his environment. He repeats what he has been taught. He mimics the social behaviour of his community....He is changing all the time. He has no essential reality.

More and more is the man in the street coming to understand that such a flux of consciousness cannot be an abiding reality, but that it is real only in relation to the circumstances and events which give rise to it: and he senses that the flux may cease, for him, when the organism (his body) with which it is associated disintegrates. Yet he cannot remain content with this. His deepest intuitions assure him that there *is* in himself a reality. Then what reality? His thought will at last, if properly pursued, bring him to the stage where he feels that his reality must be some centre or point of consciousness which is the witness of these fluctuations. And, as we have seen, Science now has no argument, only some ingrained, inherited prejudices, to offer against such an idea.

As the man looks around and sees that men in general plainly *do* identify themselves with their "constellations," their phases, he asks: "What then, when the physical organism with which these phases are associated disappears, at death? Surely, the witness, the ultimate, remains? And surely, if a 'witness' has not been able to understand clearly these things concerning itself during its sojourn on earth it will need to return to life on earth to acquire the knowledge? Surely the witness could not be satisfied to remain away from the world in a state of ignorance? He will be impelled to return, if necessary again and again, until he *sees*."

I have seen, in many everyday contacts, a gradual trend among people towards that view-point.

To sum up, then, the idea of reincarnation arose in the first place through the close observation of, and thought about, men as they manifest in the world by successive generations of thinkers in ancient India, the first philosopher-scientists. It seems to have been a "universally admitted belief" (Plotinus) for a considerable period; it was then rejected by the Council of Constantinople; and then neglected because increasing preoccupation with external matters left man with little time for metaphysical speculation. And it is now, at long last, being represented to men's minds because sufficient knowledge of the external world has been acquired to show that the previously held notions as to life and the nature of the universe can no longer be maintained.

What is the next step?

It seems to me that the foregoing brief analysis points almost certainly to one thing. It seems to indicate that the conditions are now such as to prepare the way for a spiritual revival. Perhaps one may be beginning already, in the "underground areas" of men's minds.

Perhaps we should now be receiving more evidence of a reawakening were it not for two things. One of these things is that there is not at the moment a sufficient number of true spiritual *leaders* in the world—only, for the most part, "leaders" of the kind who exhort us to return to beliefs and creeds which have become lifeless because their propounders are only able to express mechanically the letter thereof and are devoid of inspiration. The other obstacle to a reawakening is the clamp that has been fastened upon men's minds by the latter-day world ideologies, tempting us to hope that, after all, happiness and serenity may be attained on earth by purely political means—or, inversely (according to which side you are on), that the millennium will come if only some particular ideology can be rooted out and crushed.

These last two hopes are, as they stand, illusory.

The need to which I have referred—for the arising of spiritual leaders of real power—may even now be in course of being answered. It may be that spiritual growth is proceeding apace in some of the centres of suffering in the world.

CHARLES J. SEYMOUR

FLORA TRISTAN: A PRECURSOR

[**Madame Andree Karpeles-Hogman** is the joint sponsor with her husband, Monsieur C. A. Högman, of Publications Chitra, Mouans-Sartoux, France, known especially to Indian readers for its *Feuilles de l'Inde* series of translations of Indian writings into French. She introduces here to English readers a little known, early 19th-century thinker on labour and social problems, Flora Tristan, whom two biographers have recently helped to rescue from an undeserved oblivion. It is no doubt inevitable that the names and achievements of most, whose ideas have been woven into the multi-coloured fabric of human thought, should be forgotten by the posterity whom they have indirectly served. But posterity is to be congratulated that a character so brave and so humane as was this high-minded and socially sensitive woman is being brought so vividly to life upon the printed page. Having been almost killed by a brutal husband must surely be unique among incentives to the penning of a petition for the abolition of the death penalty! In her labours for social amelioration and for the peaceful resolution of conflicts between the classes, Flora Tristan painted on a different canvas from that of her grandson, Paul Gauguin, but she perhaps deserved no less than he the designation of genius which she was, indeed, accorded by the philosopher Proudhon.—ED.]

The names of Florence Nightingale and of Josephine Butler are universally known and respected. Why is the name of Flora Tristan nearly forgotten, even in France where she struggled for the unity and welfare of the working classes? In connection with the centenary of the Revolution of 1848, we dug out from under the ashes, where it still glowed in silence, her name, which none should ignore who believe in peace, internationalism and progress. Her grandson, the painter, Paul Gauguin, wrote in his Souvenirs entitled *Avant et Après* :—

My grandmother was a queer creature, Proudhon, the philosopher, said she was a genius. I rely on his judgment, not knowing anything about her myself.

She had invented all sorts of Socialist arrangements, among others, the workmen's Union, and, in the graveyard at Bordeaux, the workmen erected a monument at her tomb.

In 1948, a book came out with her biography and with selected pages from her writings: *Flora Tristan*, by Lucien Scheler (La Bibliothèque Française, Paris). But the important volume by Jules Puech (the well-known historian of French Socialism, the biographer of Proudhon, etc.,) is a treasure-house, full of revelations. It is out of print, alas! Discovering the life of that exceptional woman, one feels truly ashamed to have ignored her extraordinary life, her endless struggles, her ideas worthy of a forerunner. One feels, at the same time, grateful

to Jules Puech, who has devoted long years of his life to studying her out-of-print books, her unpublished diary and to the search for documents stored by the descendants of those who were her disciples. In a lecture given at a recent meeting of the association called La Paix par le Droit, the historian and, one might say, the "lover" of Flora Tristan exclaimed:—

Flora Tristan! I should like to tell you the whole story of that woman with whom I have spent 16 years of my life!...She had been dead since 1844, until I first began to study her romantic life and her remarkable ideas; she summed these up in a kind of new gospel: *L'Union Ouvrière*, hoping to spread them all over the world.

With that aim in view, Flora visited all the large towns of France, no easy task in those days for the refined, delicate and beautiful young woman that she was! She organized meetings, wrote pamphlets. Persecuted by the police, misunderstood by the bourgeoisie, adored by the people, she died exhausted in the arms of her faithful disciples, Monsieur and Madame Lemonnier, the latter of whom was the pioneer in starting professional schools for women in France. Long before Karl Marx, Flora Tristan had studied the conflicts between different castes and classes.

Her original solution was, instead of using those struggles as reasons and excuses for more conflicts, to try to find means to put an end to them. She followed the path indicated by Buddha: the golden middle way, saying: Fighting only gives birth to more fighting; solidarity and union, discovered and understood, are the only final solutions.

Flora Tristan was born in Paris in 1803; her mother was French, her father, a nobleman of Peru. Circumstances prevented them from getting legally married; thus Flora learned what it was to be considered a "pariah," she never forgot it; it helped her later to understand and to help other pariahs. Also—a circumstance unusual for a girl of her kind in those days—she had to earn her living, which she did by painting bottle labels for perfume shops.

She married a man who did not understand her and treated her with brutality. The Restoration having suppressed divorce, she learned what domestic slavery was like, and, as she always wished her own sufferings to blossom into some good for humanity, she wrote a pamphlet, a "Petition for re-establishing divorce." But after her husband had once very nearly killed her, she wrote a "Petition for abolishing the death sentence."

In order to support her two children herself, she became a lady's-maid in London. A remarkable book, *Ramblings in London*, dates from that period. In a masterly way, she describes what she calls "the monster city" in all its different aspects; with wit and accuracy she studies the English character, the hard life of the workmen in the factories, the terrible misery in the

Irish quarters. "The critics were taken aback by that book," says Jules Puech ; they had never thought a woman could study social economy so scientifically. Flora Tristan deserves the gratitude of the English people for having revealed the hidden misery of their capital.

In order to meet the family of her father, Flora pluckily started for Peru on a sailing vessel on which she was the only woman. A powerful book, *The Wanderings of a Pariah*, was the result of that brave trip. The writer kept back nothing of what she saw there that aroused her indignation : the cruelties of war and revolution, the slavery on the sugar plantations, the hardness of the fishermen's life. She visited the Negro women in a prison ; they had let their babies die of hunger. She writes : "Their expressive eyes seem to tell me : 'They could never have become free as you are ; we prefer them dead, to having them alive and slaves.'" The book was publicly burned in the capital of Peru.

The only novel by Flora Tristan is *Méphis* : its theme is that woman must not continue to play a passive rôle of abnegation and obedience ; she has a mission : to inspire men to great deeds. Marriage must be transformed ; society changed. Woman reflects "the Divine Light" in a high degree ; she possesses intuition : that voice of God that vibrates in us.

As an artist, as a writer, says Jules Puech, there was not a single instant in Flora Tristan's life when she did not think that her intellectual creations had to serve the secret scheme of God.

It is hoped that this too short account of a noble life and a passionately interesting book may induce some one in India to translate parts of it ; the ideals of Flora Tristan are familiar to those born in the land of Ashoka, Ramakrishna, Gandhi and Tagore. But the circumstances, coincidences and surroundings amongst which her life of apostleship unrolled, have a picturesque, witty, unusual side which adds to the fascination of her story ; they appeal, not only to those interested in social matters, but to everybody, cultured or not, who desires acquaintance with a powerful and charming woman, an ornament to humankind.

ANDREE KARPELES-HOGMAN

Truth is the object of knowledge, and the knowledge of Truth is the highest good for the human soul, being the fulfilment of the capacity for knowledge which is its peculiar endowment. Particular truths can delight the soul, but only the universal Truth can satisfy it.

—BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

THE PROCESS OF SPIRITUAL EVOLUTION

[**Mrs. Esme Wynne-Tyson,** whose thoughtful article we publish here, is a well-known writer of fiction, in some of which she collaborated with the late J. D. Beresford, and of such serious non-fiction as *Prelude to Peace,* which educationists have praised, and *The Unity of Being.*—ED.]

Whenever the need for improving the human species, responsible for the present state of the world, is pointed out as being the sole radical means of improvement, the objection is invariably made that you cannot change human nature.

This objection, always pronounced with assurance and apparently backed by irrefutable historical evidence, usually finds acceptance as the last word, after a nervous mental glance in the direction of the worst elements of human character: its violence, finding modern expression in atomic warfare and napalm bombs; its animality and sexual crimes, its lusts, its greed, its unreliability. All these, after years of preaching the Christian and Buddhist gospels of compassion and love!

It certainly seems that to be realistic we must admit that human nature has not changed, except for the worse, and that we must therefore give up hope and adopt the hypothesis of materialism, which at any rate will ensure that external things such as economic and political measures will be put, if not right, at least on a better and fairer basis than they have been hitherto.

But we forget that our glance at human nature has been partial, focused solely on its failings. It is not all bad. If it were, mankind would have to be regarded as a failure of evolution fit only to be flung on the scrap heap by that impersonal force that seems always to be aiming at the perfect model. Human nature is, rather, a perplexing mixture of good and evil. And therefore the words "You cannot change human nature" suggest a confusion of thought as to what is required, and convey the impression that some impossible miracle is necessary, a sudden transformation of one species into another.

But, in fact, in the whole round of manifestation nothing ever happens like that. The rose-potential is in the bud, but it is not seen until the elements have done their slow work of unfoldment. The gold dredged from the river bed seems to be so mixed with dross that only the expert can recognize the precious metal and visualize it in its purified state.

It is the same with the essential nature of man. He does not have to change miraculously into something that he is not. He already has those elements within, which when cultivated and expressed will make him seem to be a totally new creature. It is not a question of creat-

ing a new species, but of separating the gold from the dross.

Looked at objectively, with the mind rather than the heart, the evil in human nature undoubtedly seems more apparent than the good. Yet a more sympathetic inspection reveals in every human being at least the seeds and sproutings of such qualities as compassion, intelligence, co-operation and love of the good.

The process of evolution, therefore, the true and obvious way of changing human nature, is not to crush it but to cultivate the good and eliminate the evil, precisely as a gardener treats his flowerbeds. It is a process that can only be performed by the individual, but it *can* be performed. It is not an idealistic theory; it is practical common sense. If we do not want weeds in the world, we must eliminate them from our own gardens. If we want flowers we must cultivate them.

The biblical exhortation to "magnify the Lord" conveys precisely this idea. In magnifying the good in our characters, lives and actions, and resisting, minimizing and finally noughting—as the mystics have put it—the baser elements, mankind can arrive, at what? A new type of manhood certainly; but not at something inconceivable, something which we cannot entirely believe in since we have never seen it, but something which human eyes have already looked upon, and pens have written about—men of the stature of Gautama and Jesus who, whatever we may call them—saviours or *avatars*—whatever we may think about them, are actually the next phase in human evolution, and stand in the same relation to the ordinary man as, say, Bernard Shaw or Leonardo da Vinci stood in relation to an Australian aborigine—with this difference, that Gautama and Jesus left their rules and their example to a humanity sufficiently evolved to profit by these, *if they chose* to do so.

The tragedy is that they have not so chosen, and have preferred to worship rather than to emulate. For can there be any reasonable shadow of a doubt that a world peopled by men of the nature and stature of these two great teachers would be a kingdom of heaven compared with the world as it is today? A kingdom where Love was and violence was not. A kingdom where goodwill and the power of the good were continually expressed by its single-minded inhabitants. A kingdom in which men were self-governed, or governed by their own perfected root-natures. A kingdom, therefore, from which all mankind's present problems would have disappeared since the causes of those problems —violence, greed, hate, lust, in the hearts of men—would have been eliminated by the patient process of magnifying the good, the true and the beautiful.

Humanity's peril lies in the fact that the majority of men are at present thus self-deluded and that the still, small voice of Truth can so rarely make itself heard above the clamour and scream of the machines

that symbolize the god-concepts of the materialists.

These symbols which meet the eyes wherever they turn, continually suggest—until a state of hypnosis is induced—that they are concrete evidences of progress, the sole means whereby mankind can evolve, to ever greater mechanical and scientific power.

But it is these machines alone that will evolve and mechanized man will remain inwardly as he is at present, a puzzled, tormented admixture of good and evil, never knowing himself, never achieving integration, until he is crushed by the monsters of mechanism that he has created in a vain endeavour thereby to become a greater, freer and more powerful species.

Machines and scientific methods of destruction are the modern Molochs to which mesmerized mankind bows and becomes enslaved. Only by removing the attention from these false guides to progress, freedom and power and turning it inward to the soul of man, can we ever know and follow the process of spiritual evolution.

Once turned in the right direction we become aware that our task is not so overwhelming as we may at first have believed. For we come to see that evolution is merely the term we use to explain progress from one point to another. It is a wholly three-dimensional term. Four-dimensionally, it is a false theory. For in consciousness both points already exist. The aim is already attained. It is in consciousness that everything happens, and there the perfect man which is our goal, seen now as Krishna, now as Buddha, now as Jesus Christ, eternally lives, moves and has his being. By means of this spiritual concept we know how we must think and how we must act, in order to attain to the next stage of evolution and to be that perfect man.

The true process of evolution is, therefore, less a painful and difficult extermination of evil than a persistent holding in thought of the ideal perfection and living up to it to our utmost capacity; a concentration on the good, the true and the beautiful until it becomes for us the one Reality.

For, as Basil Wilberforce wrote:

> It is an ordinarily recognized fact of our common humanity that strong thinking in a particular direction, concentration of mind upon one line of things, shuts out other sensations, and when habitual causes them to wither and die.

This, then, is the means of "changing human nature" or freeing the higher nature of man from the nescience and animalism which hamper him. It is the method of all the masters. Plato reminded us, in his *Republic*, that the ideal citizen, or evolved man, will found his city within himself, without being concerned as to whether it exists geographically or not, for "his conduct will be the expression of the laws of that city alone." And he who elects to be ruled solely by the Law of the Good has discovered the secret of the process of spiritual evolution.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

SOIL AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS

THE WORK OF A GENIUS *

I met the late Sir Albert Howard only once. I was on holiday at Antibes; but I had with me the typescript of a short account I had written of the application of his methods to a small neglected Lincolnshire farm. I had written asking him to be so kind as to go over my material before I proceeded to publication. This he agreed to do, and on a golden summer morning, with a prospect of silver-green vineyards spread out before us, Sir Albert "vetted" my material. My book was to have been entitled *The Surfleet Experiment*. The war came, and so it was published under another title—*The Land Our Larder*, with the subtitle: *The Story of the Surfleet Experiment and its Significance in War*.

This personal preamble may be forgiven, since it was the dramatic changes wrought by the application of the Indore Composting system, as advocated by Sir Albert, which had convinced me that in the organic approach this far-sighted scientist had opened up vast new potentialities of soil fecundity, and so increased the chances of man's escape from endemic hunger and malnutrition.

The present book gives a full account of the work done by Howard during his Indian years as Imperial Economic Botanist to the Government of India at Pusa, Quetta and, most important, in that remarkable Plant Institute he himself laid out and designed at Indore.

Without pretending to any scientific knowledge of Botany, perhaps the reader will permit me to state in simple terms the central thesis of Howard's approach to the problem of plant health.

Howard held that the study of plant life under laboratory conditions was essentially artificial, since the plant has to be considered in relation to its environment, the soil. Thus, plant, plus soil, and both under conditions related to the ultimate object of more and better food, seemed to him the indispensable materials and conditions for scientific work undertaken to secure practical agricultural results.

The theory behind the methods developed and propagated by Howard is, actually, as ancient as the plough itself. It is, that what is lent by the soil to man must be returned to it by him.

Modern research work, mostly done under laboratory conditions, falls, roughly, into four parts: soil analysis; artificial manuring; chemical spraying; maximum mechanization.

Howard stressed the organic character of the soil, and challenged orthodox methods of soil analysis confined to chemistry. He turned from the laboratory to consider the manure heap.

In *The Waste Products of Agriculture* he wrote :—

> In Roman times the management of the manure heap had already reached an advanced stage. In 40 B.C. Varro drew attention to the great importance of the complete decay of manure before it was applied to the land. To bring this about, the manure heap, during the period of storing, had to be kept moist. In A.D. 90 Columella emphasized the importance of constructing the pits (in which the farm manure was to be stored) in such a manner that drying out was impossible. He mentioned the need of turning this material in summer to facilitate decay....

It was the scientific application of this traditional method of maintaining soil fertility that Howard applied at

* *Sir Albert Howard in India.* By LOUISE E. HOWARD. (Faber and Faber, Ltd., London. 272 pp. 1953. 21s.)

the Institute of Plant Industry in Indore, until, as he wrote, "that station stood out like an oasis from the surrounding country."

Between 1924 and 1930 the Indore process of utilizing the organic residue of the soil was thoroughly worked out. And it is interesting to note the fact that the final technique represents a development of immemorial Chinese practice.

"The Chinese," wrote Howard,

> were the first to grasp and act upon the master idea that the growth of a crop involves two separate processes. First, the preparation of humus from vegetable, animal and human wastes, which must be done outside the field, and, secondly, the growing of the crop.

What is implied here? Is it not the simple proposition that the maintenance of soil fertility is the first condition of any permanent system of agriculture?

In Nature, two processes are perpetually operative: (1) the process of the building up of the living tissue in animal and plant; (2) the process of their decline, decay, death and disintegration. It is an eternal cycle, majestic and awe inspiring, not of opposities, but of complementary and interdependent processes. It is an eternal cycle symbolized by the prayer wheel of the Buddhist temple, and the conception of the Wheel of Life, *sans* beginning, *sans* end. For death is not the negation of life, but the completion of one half of a process necessary for the other.

Howard's Indore Composting System is, actually, the synthesis of mould, or compost—the processes eternally in operation upon the forest floor, and, in lesser extent, in the garden refuse heap, which are by this system greatly accelerated.

Howard's genius lay in his powers of observation and in his capacity to make wide, sweeping syntheses. He saw much of modern research, as his biographer tells us, as a getting to know more and more about less and less. He left the laboratory and looked about him. He saw that plant and soil can never be studied with profit, save in association. He saw, too, the trap set by one science when it isolates itself from others. A chemical analysis of the soil may tell all that is to be told of its chemistry; but the soil is more than a combination of chemicals: it has a living population of invisible inhabitants. It is these that work to render available to the hairs of the plant roots the chemicals necessary for growth and health. "Soil fertility," wrote Howard, "is ultimately the foundation of quality and disease-resistance in crops, in the animals which consume these crops, and the human beings which feed on both."

Why, in the face of concrete results of a remarkable kind, not only in India, but in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Europe and Britain, did Howard encounter so much opposition from orthodox research scientists?

Personally, I have found it hard to understand why. Maybe, in some part, it was due to the personality of Howard himself. He was a man impatient of fools. He was forthright. He did not mince words. He charged at his enemy, as it were, head down. This made him enemies.

Not only that. He propounded a theory of soil fertility and plant health that put in peril vast vested interests—in particular, those of the insecticide industry, a very large one. For Howard had no faith in that approach to the problem of plant disease, as he had no faith in monoculture.

What, then, is the case against the widespread use of chemical fertilizers, from the Indore Composting System view-point? It may be stated briefly. The micro-organisms in the soil live upon organic matter and engender soil solutions and colloids that are absorbed by the plant roots. These can receive from the soil only that which has been dissolved. The major part of the case against chemical fertilizers is that they are detrimental to these indispensable micro-organisms.

It has been said that the humus introduces diseases into the soil. Well, Howard told me that after 40 years of experience, he had never seen a single case where disease had followed on the manufacture of humus.

Lady Howard has written a good biography of her late husband. From her pages emerges the portrait of a fine scientist and of a noble man. Her task was difficult, since, aside from a good mind, she had no scientific qualification for her task, undertaken, one imagines, as an act of love.

India has, indeed, cause to bless the name of Howard, for his work lives on after him in every ear of Pusa wheat that is what it is because of him.

If Lady Howard's account of her husband's work, and of that of her sister Gabrielle, done in association with him, arouses in the reader an interest in this subject, then she will have done rather more than write a biography; she will have helped to propagate ideas of supreme value in a world moving recklessly towards ultimate famine conditions.

GEORGE GODWIN

LITERATURE

The Vermilion Boat. By SUDHIN N. GHOSE. With Illustrations by SHRIMATI ARNAKALI E. CARLILE. (Michael Joseph, London. 302 pp. 1953. 18*s*.)

The Vermilion Boat by Dr. Sudhin N. Ghose carries a rare cargo of charm but is not an easy book for a Western reader to review with justice, because, naturally, the author lacks the Western outlook on ideas and situations which the Western mind takes with painful seriousness. Let there be no misunderstanding; the reviewer at least delights in his gentle mockery of Marxian dreariness and the disease of Nationalism, but it takes a chapter or two to become adjusted to his point of view.

The book continues the life-story delightfully begun in *And Gazelles Leaping* and *The Cradle of the Clouds*, taking the young narrator to Calcutta as a student and into his first encounter with love in the person of the aggressively chaste Roma; aggressiveness is necessary, perhaps, in a country where the joys and miseries of sex are accepted so frankly.

The style is leisurely, and ornate as the course of some broad river laden with dropped flower petals and scented leaves, and the life described carries on this impression because it springs from roots and tradition. But Dr. Ghose projects his story in jerky flash-backs which interrupt it at the most exciting moments. Did some well-meaning ass advise him to construct his book like a fashionable film? If he gives us another volume—and may there be many—do let him ignore such advice.

There are no asses aboard *The Vermilion Boat* except Chumchiké Adhikari the Communist, but there are other animals, drawn with that same fascinating difference of outlook, not as if they were lower creatures to be exploited and sentimentalized, but as our fallen brothers, our responsibility and our charge. Anyone who has looked into the eyes of fish or monkey, and longed to communicate, will enjoy the portrait of Sisi-Magar, the "incredibly ugly but infinitely lovable porpoise" who in the last confused dream-sequence guides the writer home.

Charming as it is, with its white-line drawings on black backgrounds by Shrimati Arnakali E. Carlile, the book's true value lies in its power to show us of the West another way of looking at life; to open a door into a gentler reality.

STELLA GIBBONS

The Philosophy of Shakespeare. By K. J. SPALDING. (George Ronald, Oxford. 191 pp. 1953. 12*s*. 6*d*.)

To apply the term "philosopher" to such a towering genius of poetic drama as William Shakespeare is perhaps to confine him too narrowly, pin him down to earth; to attribute to him, in John Keats's words, said of Wordsworth, "poetry that has a palpable design on us." What Keats, who understood Shakespeare so well, calls his "negative capability," a power of penetrating the essence of things, of gauging men's hearts and men's minds, without moral judgment or analysis, is perhaps of greater importance in his art. Nevertheless, in isolating certain aspects of Shakespeare's thought, Mr. Spalding brings a measure of clarity, of value both to the student and to those who like and profit by neat labels and tidy classifications. After all the universality of Shakespeare must include an appeal to the more severely ordered mind.

Mr. Spalding ranges over the plays and lyric verse with a sureness of touch which denotes a long and devoted acquaintance with his subject: it is not now easy in the close and fertile field of Shakespeare scholarship to devise a fresh approach. The very richness and luxuriance, too, of the Shakespeare world makes it a space to wander in at will. A nature lover finds description as apt, as exact as anything in Wordsworth, and with more illumination; the sociologist, aspects of human behaviour as strange and revealing as any case book; the student of politics, a fruitful study and many pointers to phenomena in our own modern disturbed world; and the philosopher, a key to the riddle of the existence of evil. These are the aspects of Shakespeare's genius dealt with in detail, with apt and copious quotations, by Mr. Spalding under such chapter-headings as "Social Man," "The Statesman" (by far the longest section), "Individual Man," "Man's Salvation" and "The Last Question."

Though one would dearly like to know, with John Keats, "in which position Shakespeare sat when he began 'To be or not to be,'" it is perhaps only fitting that we have so little biographical detail, know so little of his life here on earth: he is to us, by his very remoteness,

> ....the northern star,
> Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
> There is no fellow in the firmament.

He looks down on us serene, all-seeing, godlike in his comprehension. Again in the words of Keats, "he has left nothing to say about nothing or anything."

DOROTHY HEWLETT

The Anatomy of Poetry. By MARJORIE BOULTON. With a Foreword by L. A. G. STRONG. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London. xiii+189 pp. 1953. 10*s*. 6*d*.)

This is a propaganda book for poetry, eminently brisk and healthy, but rather in the tone of an enthusiastic teacher to her pupils. It is an attempt to brush away the cobwebs of the text-books and spring-clean the poetry room. All is hygienic and sensible—a half-way house between the technical terms section of the text book, and the subtler complexities of analytic criticism. In spite of all this, one remains suspicious of the good intentions, and there is something of a missionary air about the book which irritates. What invites the suspicion that this is just another text-book is the fact that the writer professes "to help the examination candidate without killing poetry by an excess of formalism." Is she concerned with English examinations or English poetry? If the former, she might be better employed in giving her students the kind of arid paraphrase test she so rightly deplores; if the latter, I feel she should not have written a book so full of her own interpretations, intuitions and responses. This kind of thing can only be justified when it is part of an attempt to evaluate new work such as Dr. Leavis's pioneer work on the poetry of Mr. T. S Eliot in *New Bearings*. Tradition must be absorbed, taste acquired according to this absorption.

Miss Boulton divides her subject under various chapter headings such as "Rhythm," "Phonetic Form," "Repetition," and examples are treated under these headings. This I believe to be critical malpractice. In a poem, any aspect must be considered in its relation to every other aspect. Its rhythm, for instance, may be dictated by its meaning, or may itself be its meaning. The context of any remark on one aspect of a poem must surely be every other aspect of it.

This emphasis on unrelated facets of the subject reduces the work to guide-book status. But there is no universal recipe for happiness, and none in book form for "teaching" poetry. All that the good teacher can do is open the doors to his *protégés* as they arrive. They cannot be urged through. The bad teachers should, of course, stop teaching.

JACK BEVAN

Sāhityavimarśa. (An original treatise on literary criticism). By APPALA SOMESVARA SARMA, P.O L. (S. V. Oriental Institute Studies, No. 4. Tirupati Devasthanams, Tirupati. x+88 pp. 1951. Rs. 2/-)

Modern treatises on literary criticism in Sanskrit are rare. We, therefore, welcome heartily this original one on literary criticism from the pen of an able Sanskrit scholar deeply conversant with the varied literature on Sanskrit literary criticism. In the three chapters of the treatise the author deals with the nature of *Sāhitya*, the soul of poetry, the definition of poetry, the development of literary criticism and allied subjects, in a spirit of inquiry and criticism. This epitome of Sanskrit *Sāhitya* literature and its evaluation by the author in lucid Sanskrit should be very useful to our university students who desire to specialize in the complicated subject of Sanskrit poetics, on the history of which MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has recently brought out an authoritative volume in English.

P. K. GODE

English Literature and the Hebrew Renaissance. By MAURICE FARBRIDGE. (Luzac and Company, Ltd., London. 160 pp. 1953. 18*s*.)

It has been a great pleasure to read Professor Farbridge's book, and it is doubtful whether anyone is better qualified and equipped than he for the task which he has undertaken in writing it.

While it is clear that our author obeys his own dictum and brings to the study of books a large charity, he at the same time makes it clear that the hall-mark of good literature, as apart from the immense number of publications whose sole and perfectly legitimate object is to amuse and entertain, is its essentially social and spiritual aspect. One is almost tempted to define it as a certain mystical quality, were it not that to so many people nowadays this word seems to have acquired unfortunate connotations.

Call it, however, what you will, herein assuredly lies the link between Israel and the West, and, probably more particularly, between Israel and the English-speaking peoples, for they share in the Sacred Scriptures a common heritage, and great though the debt may be that is owed to the painstaking scholars who produced the LXX and the Vulgate, we in the Commonwealth and the United States owe an even greater debt to the often much maligned translators of the Authorized Version. Nor can there be any doubt that the publication of the *Zohar* had a very great effect, not merely on Jewish thought, but upon Western religious and philosophical thought in general; and it is indeed unfortunate that the only English translation should be so lamentably incomplete.

Mindful, therefore, of all that we owe to a people who have, despite oppression, persecution and dispersion, preserved for us so much of the wisdom and culture of the past; and have handed on with such surprising accuracy those traditions which, until

the second century of our era were entirely oral—although based on the Torah—we can but welcome as an important contribution to modern culture the Hebrew Renaissance of today.

E. J. LANGFORD GARSTIN

The Perennial Fount. By NANALAL; translated by BALCHANDRA PARIKH. (Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. 82 pp. 1953. Rs. 3/8)

This collection comprises translations of 23 of the Gujarati songs and lyrics of Kavivar Nanalal—the greatest poet of modern Gujarati. The music of his words and the lilting rhythm of his tuneful songs have rarely been surpassed by any other Gujarati poet. It was time, therefore, that the work of this great poet should be brought out in English and made available to all. The attempt of Shri Balchandra Parikh, the translator of these lyrics, is welcome.

But poetry generally—and that of poets like Nanalal particularly, where the music of words and beauty of meaning are so intertwined that when one is changed the appeal of the other is lessened—rarely lends itself to suitable translation into a completely foreign medium. Reading these translations through, one finds that unfortunately the translator has not been able to overcome this initial, inevitable, difficulty.

Nanalal was fond of words—their music was nectar to his ears. A torrent of words poured from his pen, sometimes in spite of himself. Though at his best he was their master and then the result was great poetry indeed, he left a lesson for students of his poetry: to be aware of the power of words and afraid of surrendering to it. Unfortunately, the translator has not learnt this lesson from the master and his flow of words is uncontrolled.

These verses are not word-for-word translations. Such would be well-nigh impossible. But there should be a limit to the liberties taken when one is dealing with the work of a recognized genius. At least his meaning should not be changed or distorted and additions and omissions should be entirely ruled out, even when the translator thinks that by making them he is enhancing the beauty or appeal of the original. Shri Parikh has done this a number of times. For example, he has translated two famous lines of the poet thus:—

O children, athirst for love!
Forget not love's eternal seal;
It was with the impact of a sacred urge
That our Lord set bounds to the vast ocean
of Love....

The last two lines of this translation are definitely not expressing what Nanalal meant. The meaning of the original Gujarati verse is: God has surrounded the ocean of Love (*Rasa*) with banks of *Punya* (merit). Do not forget therefore, the ways of *Rasa*. It is unnecessary to give more examples. There are too many of them in this small book to escape the eyes of a person who can read the original.

In spite of all this, Shri Parikh's effort to make the work of Nanalal available to those who do not know Gujarati is most welcome. The selection contains some of the best and best-known poems of Nanalal.

I wish more people would make such an effort as this and make Gujarati literature available to interested people everywhere.

GULABDAS BROKER

WAR AND PEACE

Kenya : The Land of Conflict. By JOMO KENYATTA. (The India Africa Council, 9 School Lane, New Delhi. 28 pp. 1953. Re. 1/- or 1s.6*d*.)

If internal evidence ever meant anything, the author of this pamphlet cannot be a rabid, murdering revolutionary. The pamphlet is the work of an intelligent, mature, *cultured* mind. In it Africans are not whitewashed; they are pictured from intimate knowledge, and as a very interesting and lovable people. The Kikuyu tribesmen who first saw Europeans pitied the sufferings which they supposed the Europeans had undergone when their natural skins had been peeled off by some strange disease!

Mr. Kenyatta furnishes a historical background to the present disturbances in Kenya, beginning with the pre-European tribal life and the blood brotherhood compacted by Captain Lugard in 1890, and bringing the tale of broken promises and racial insolence up to the date of writing.

The main grievance of the Kikuyu is land. They are essentially an agricultural and pastoral people who cannot live without land. Yet the best land in Kenya has been reserved for Europeans, tribal land alienated in various ways and people moved forcibly from one place to another. They are forbidden to grow certain profitable cash-crops like coffee. The labour needed on European farms is secured by spoiling alternatives, not by offering attractions. Finally, there has been brought into force conscription for work on settlers' farms at a minimum wage of 8*s*. to 10*s*. a month.

The pamphlet is well documented and supplied with figures. It is written simply, with restraint and occasional ironic humour; and leaves us with the conviction, in Leonard Woolf's words, that

> to say that the Kenya Government during those years has administered the country in the interests of the African people or treated their prosperity and progress as a "sacred trust" would be a hypocritical lie. (p. 25)

Africans demand justice in the restoration of their land, to which their heart-strings are tied; in the removal of the *Kipandi*, the registration certificate is a badge of serfdom; and in freedom to share in the government of the country. Mr. Kenyatta insists that they do not want justice to come through a bloody insurrection.

R. P. S.

Essay in Politics. By SCOTT BUCHANAN. (Philosophical Library, New York. xiii+236 pp. 1953. $3.75)

Mr. Scott Buchanan seeks in this thoughtful book an answer to the problem of harnessing the spiritual energy which "this flyer of kites thinks he has detected...in the clouds of the storm." He suggests that it is the institution of the Roman family which has given corporate form to our common life. The very confidence in contracts, he writes, is fortified by faith in all citizens being "members of one body." The political republic, "which now in principle includes the whole world," has as the essence of its vision the recognition that all men must have equal rights under the law as they have equal responsibilities in connection with the making, continuation and improvement of the law.

The civil rights and liberties which a democracy should ensure seem to him, however, to be threatened by the fact that much of the power of the political republic has been distributed to the corporations, without adequate provision for popular participation in their working. The result is a "guerrilla civil war" between the political republic and the "shadowy federation of corporation" which he calls the commercial republic. Seeking the "necessary and trusted conditions for the exercise of concerted human will," he concludes that

the political republic might well discharge its responsibility for the general welfare by recognizing and confirming the formal ties of republican government in those corporations which do the business of the commercial republic.

Mr. Buchanan would even legitimate cartels, bringing them into the open and insisting on public treaties between their component corporations which have conspired to set up quasi-federal relations between themselves as an alternative to mutual destruction. In fact, territorial nationalism proving a difficult basis for combination, Mr. Buchanan makes the revolutionary suggestion that incorporated trading companies, making cartel treaties, might conceivably become the United States of the World. Some of the American colonies having been incorporated trading companies, furnished the basis for the suggestion.

One of the author's most valuable contributions is his insistence on "consent" and on the power of veto as the safeguard against what de Toqueville called "the tyranny of the majority." "The witch-hunt is incitement to revolution." Despite "the complicated intractability of human nature," and however vexatious the delays imposed by the veto, he insists on the safeguarding of the right to dissent, as the only assurance that persuasion will take the place of force. "Even an individual has the right and may on occasion have the duty to hold to a vital dissent." Citing the example of Gandhiji, Mr. Buchanan says that "the truly political man recognizes his responsibility for the injustice that he consents to."

The health and effectiveness of consent demands a continual patient formal recognition of dissent....Without consent between nations, world wars; with consent and veto powers, the United Nations and the process of building world government.

Mr. Buchanan's citing of Russian precedents for dealing with the institutional problems of science and technology, as well as with economic matters, will hardly strengthen his case with some of his compatriots, but he has some original and constructive suggestions which deserve consideration by every serious reader.

E. M. H.

Removing the Causes of War. Swarthmore Lecture 1953. By KATHLEEN LONSDALE, D.Sc., F.R.S. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. ix+76 pp. 1953. Cloth 5*s.*; Paper 3*s.* 6*d.*)

For 300 years Quakers have rejected armed might as a means to security; and this "peace testimony," rooted though it is in the Christian faith, has been given by recent history the backing of reason.

To a Tolstoi, to a Gandhi, to Kathleen Lonsdale and the Quakers in general, peace is not the inertia between wars; it is rather a discipline; a creative act, a way of life.

We have to begin at the centre, to control ourselves and our tempers, to live peaceably with our immediate companions. "To be ourselves that which others ought to be is more important than to make them so."

But Kathleen Lonsdale is too much awake to the omnipresent threat of immediate war to imagine that self-discipline and magnanimity in our relations with others are enough to save the world. There must be, as well, active attempts at reconciliation and creative essays in peacemaking; and she cites the many ways in which something concrete in these respects can be done—through "detachment from material success" and a concern to level the standard of the *haves* and the *have-nots*; through the encouragement of enlightened policies in governments and the United Nations; through service in rural development schemes such as Friends are at present undertaking at Barpali in Orissa and at Rasulia in Madhya Pradesh; through participation in the work camps movement and in international seminars which bring together students of different nations; through active goodwill towards such a pioneer as Vinoba Bhave in India; and through the breaking down of racial tensions in Africa.

But Kathleen Lonsdale not only diagnoses the disease and prescribes the remedy, she shows how each of us may play his part in effecting a cure. Those who think of Pacifism as something negative, a hobby-horse for street-corner orators, should read this little book. It will make them think again—and think over and over again.

J. P. HOGAN

There Shall Be Peace. An anthology selected by N. GANGULEE; Preface by VERA BRITTAIN (Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. 208 pp. 1953. Rs. 3/12)

The spirit of this collection of fine quotations from over 50 eminent thinkers of East and West is summed up by one on the dedication page from the American philosopher, William E. Channing (1780-1842):—

> The age needs nothing more than peacemakers, men of serene, commanding virtue, to preach in life and word the gospel of human brotherhood.

Vera Brittain's Preface outlines the incredible vicissitudes of workers for Peace in this century, advising, nevertheless, that the "root cause of war" be persistently tackled—and Dr. Gangulee's title page aptly quotes Lao Tze:—

> The more weapons of violence, the more misery to mankind.
>
> The triumph of violence ends in a ceremony of mourning.

E. P. T.

Dehumanization in Modern Society: Its Roots and Dangers. A lecture by RENE FULOP-MILLER. Introduction by RICHARD B. GREGG. (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 28 pp. 1953. *As.* 7)

This thought-provoking essay traces, from the 17th century, the loss from Western society of human individual dignity and value. Fulop-Miller indicates clearly the dehumanizing process from Descartes's "abstractions"; Darwin's mechanistic theories; Huxley's human "automata"; modern democratic and socialistic ideologies minus human, ethical values on to psychological behaviourism. He finds its expression in the "average man" of statistics and institutions; industrial "workers"; the machine and capital; superior and inferior "peoples," and in modern art's distortion of man. He sees also, however, signs of a "New Dawn of Humanization" in the recent insights of front-rank scientific, philosophical and other thinkers who are proclaiming the unique value and wholeness of individuals and

> the reality of intellectual and spiritual values ...in complete accord with the wisdom and teachings of all great religious leaders and sages throughout the centuries.

E. P. T.

Pilgrimage to Badri and Kailas. By SRI SWAMI SIVANANDA. (Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, Sivanandanagar, Ananda Kutir P.O., Rishikesh. 124 pp. Illustrated. 1953. Re. 1/-)

The possibility of elevating influences radiating from centres of spiritual force is supported analogically by broadcasting, as is that of reception being conditioned by devotion ("tuning in"). And what shrines more quickening to aspiration than the several here described, magnificently set and hallowed by the reverence of ages? This practical "Pilgrim's Guidebook with a Spiritual Message" may remind even the reader with some mental reservations of the inner pilgrimage, incumbent upon all, to the Himalayas of the Spirit.

E. M. H.

The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne. Vols. V and VI. Edited by T. S. JESSOP, O.B.E., M.C., B.LITT. (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., London. 235 and 255 pp. 1953. 30s. each)

The promise of excellent editing held out in the first volume has been abundantly fulfilled in the succeeding volumes.

Volume 5 is mainly devoted to *Siris*, an interesting mixture of medicine and philosophy. It is certainly odd that the learned philosopher should have set himself up as an authority on the virtues of tar-water as a panacea for smallpox and all the ills of life. His defence was: "...I live in a remote corner, among poor neighbours, who for want of a regular physician have often recourse to me...." He goes a step further when he writes: "If physicians think they have a right to treat of religious matters, I think I have an equal right to treat of medicine." In public estimation, he became famous as the champion of tar-water. Horace Walpole records facetiously how a man inquired of an apothecary whether he was selling tar-water, and the apothecary with an offended air replied: "Tar-water! Why, I sell nothing else." Adam Smith as an undergraduate at Oxford bore witness to his having been cured of scurvy and shaking in the head by tar-water. Berkeley did not escape a torrent of abuse as a quack, but he was a match for his critics and defended himself in verse as well:—

> To drink or not to drink! that is the doubt....
> *Britons, drink on!...*
> And *who drinks tar-water will drink it again.*
> Hail vulgar juice of never fading pine!
> Cheap as thou art, thy virtues are divine.

Let it be said to his credit that his enthusiasm has stood the test of time, for even today tar is a good cure for eczema and tar-water is still in use under the more scientific name of *pix liquida*.

But the fame of *Siris* rests ultimately on its philosophic thesis. It softens the denial of matter as originally propounded in his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and certainly presents his philosophy in a fine literary style. Professor Jessop doubts whether Berkeley can be said to have unambiguously accepted a Platonic world of abiding Forms, though he admits that *Siris* leans towards Neo-Platonism.

Volume 6 is described by the Editor as a miscellany, but there is a continuity of thought, as the essays found in this volume are all political in character. In his "Passive Obedience" he argues against the Whig doctrine of conditional obedience made fashionable by Locke. If his argument went against the current of his day, it speaks well of his moral courage to be in the right with two or three. "The Quarterist" deals with economic questions like the project of a national bank. "Advice to the Tories who Have Taken the Oaths" and "An Essay towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain" bring out his patriotism. The latter essay was inspired by the mounting national debt and particularly by the South Sea Bubble. He almost fell into a despairing mood, but the essay ends on a more hopeful key in a fine literary peroration, in which he contrasts the old solid virtues of Englishmen with Epicurean notions making them venal and corrupt, and occasioning their final ruin. It could be summarized in his own maxim on patriotism: "Where the heart is right there is true patriotism."

So we see Berkeley the empiricist-idealist flowering into a physician as well as a political teacher: a rich, many-sided personality.

A. R. WADIA

Your Child at School. By G. F. LAMB. (Thrift Books. C. A. WATTS and Co., Ltd., London. 92 pp. 1953. 1s. 6*d*.)

This is an extremely practical book, balanced, good-humoured and informative. The information relates to English and Scottish schools only, but among the problems raised and discussed (Mr. Lamb rarely goes further than setting out what is to be said on both sides and leaving you to decide, with only an unobtrusive hint of his own opinion) are essential ones: *e g.*, "Why go to School?" (the heading of Chap. 1) and the problem of method; and many "Vexed Questions" (Chap. 5): *e g.*, corporal punishment, co-education, religious education, sex-teaching and examinations.

Throughout the book runs an insistence that we have to deal with particular children, not the average child, and hence, that we must always place the "personal touch" above administrative convenience. A Head who does not teach and know the children is flatly called a factory manager.

On one point only do I sharply disagree with him: the use of corporal punishment. He deprecates the need but does admit it in extreme cases. My view (stated somewhat in the late Harold Laski's manner) is: corporal punishment is either pernicious or ineffective. Ineffective because, though it often produces the right behaviour, it is from the wrong motive; the pupil yields to force, not a sense of right. If a pupil cannot be adjusted to the atmosphere of the class by any other means (and it is a very patient teacher that can honestly say he has tried every other means) let us admit that our teacher-student relationship has failed and send the pupil away.

This does not, of course, prevent one from heartily agreeing with Mr. Lamb's advice to parents not to fuss over a child who has been unjustly punished. Injustice is morally bad for the perpetrator, not for the victim that can endure it without self-pity though seeing it as an injustice.

A very readable and valuable book.

L. W. S.

Tragedy Is Not Enough. By KARL JASPERS. Translated by HARALD A. T. REICHE, HARRY T. MOORE and KARL W. DEUTSCH. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London. 123 pp. 1953. 8*s*. 6*d*.)

Karl Jaspers' books are almost unknown in this country, and his chief philosophical work on truth (*Von der Wahrheit*) has not yet been translated into English. Yet he is worthy of a much wider recognition outside Germany than he has yet received, for he is that rare person in an age of specialism, a man with a very wide range of vision, a philosopher, a psychologist and a man of letters. For this reason alone the appearance of this small book of his in the English language is to be welcomed. Jaspers is a fearless writer, ready to face the truth however uncomfortable it turns out to be. He showed this capacity while living in Germany during the late war after he had expressed his disapproval of the Nazi regime. He displays it now in this book. "Tragedy," Karl Deutsch writes in his Introduction, "occurs wherever awareness exceeds power; and particularly where awareness of a major need exceeds the power to satisfy it." Our awareness of our needs is continually becoming greater than our capacity to satisfy those needs and, this being so, tragedy is always with us. How, then, are we to deal with the problem? Jaspers is merciless in exposing fraudulent philosophical methods of balking the issue. Man errs, he says, if he evades the realization "that his existence here is necessarily tragic...or if he embraces the tragic for his own exultation." He should regard it rather as the gateway through which he must pass to a realization of a release "in the beyond." It is impossible to condense the ideas expressed by this fine thinker on the subject of Tragedy within the compass of a short review. The book should be bought or borrowed and read.

KENNETH WALKER

Religion, Philosophy and Psychical Research. By C. D. BROAD (Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London. 308 pp. 1953. 25s.)

The Times Literary Supplement said not long ago that Broad's *parerga* and *paralipomena* are well worth gathering together. To some who have greatly esteemed Broad as a critical philosopher, few things have looked more like *parerga* for the Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge University than Broad's papers and addresses on psychical research.

He has not been the only outstanding British philosopher who has invited the attention of his *confrères* to the challenge of *psi*. Henry Sidgwick, F. C. S. Schiller, J. S. Mackenzie and H. H. Price have made it plain how moral philosophers, pragmatists or "humanists," idealists and realists can find common ground here.

Broad's papers on psychical research included in this volume have been reprinted from *Philosophy* and the *Proceedings of the British S. P. R.* The paper on the relevance of psychical research to philosophy stresses the extreme difficulty of reconciling certain commonly accepted "basic limiting principles" regarding cognition and causation with "paranormal" phenomena. Professor Broad's Presidential Address to the S P.R. is an acute analysis of the implications of telepathic interaction and telepathic cognition.

The paper on Dunne's theory of time is a careful restatement of Dunne's own position. One wonders, though, whether Broad's emphasis on the *number* of time-dimensions is altogether justified. Perhaps Dunne demanded for time something like the generalization of metric geometry to the Euclidean space, the infinitely many-dimensional Hilbert space, complex Hilbert space, etc.

Broad's paper on Kant and psychical research shows in fine detail how the philosopher of Königsberg wrote his *Träume eines Geistersehers* when his sceptical tendencies were vying with his idealistic ones.

Broad's treatment of psychical research and religion is severely critical; yet he is always fair-minded. Of Hodgson's "exposure" of Madame Blavatsky, he says that "one could have wished that he had not to rely so much on the revelations of two discharged employees of Madame Blavatsky who had quarrelled with her and were busily engaged in biting the hand which had not ungenerously fed them."

Broad frankly admits that he has had no mystical or religious experiences worth speaking about, but adds that the view that the whole religious experience of mankind is a gigantic system of pure delusion is far-fetched. He makes out that psychical research is the only gift that modern science has to offer religion; but it is a considerable one. Surely he has taught us that to demand more from experimental science is to look the gift horse in the mouth! Two of Broad's essays on politics are included in the collection. The competence of this addition to the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method can scarcely be doubted.

C. T. K. CHARI

Yuga-Vibhuti Swami Shivananda. By AKHIL VINAY. Hindi. (Yoga Vedanta Arenya Vishva-Vidyalaya, Rishikesh. 311 pp. 1953. Rs. 3/-)

Swami Shivananda has been propagating the teachings of Vedanta, both in English and in some of the principal Indian languages, for over a quarter of a century. He has thus influenced a large number of people in the direction of cultivating an aspiration to an *active* spiritual life. The present book is a biography of Swamiji written by one of his devotees, and contains a selection of his letters to seekers.

M. G.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

[**Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra,** till very recently the Epigraphist to the Government of India, now the Deputy Director General of Archæology, read the following very interesting paper at the Indian Institute of Culture on July 16th, 1953. The facts he puts forward not only instruct but will inspire. The rising cycle of the spiral of human evolution is bringing to India the opportunity of once again transplanting her living culture in distant lands. What has been, will surely be, provided of course that present-day India regains her supremacy in the weapons of right thought, right morals, right behaviour.—ED.]

EASTWARD EXPANSION OF ARYAN CULTURE

Once upon a time, a competition was held between two artisans. Both of them were expert in the art of fresco painting. Each was to paint a scene on a panel in the wall opposite the other. A temporary screen was set up between the two, so that they could not see each other's work in the process. One of the two artists painted a superb picture, with lively details of foliage, flowers, birds and so on, using bright colours. The other artist seemingly wasted his time; for he did nothing except polish his panel all along. The appointed day came, and yet his panel was without a painted scene, though by constant rubbing it had acquired the gloss and lustre of a mirror. And lo! as soon as the screen was removed, the finished picture on the opposite panel reflected itself so beautifully in the empty panel that the prize had to go to the artist who had painted no picture at all. The shadow appeared more enchanting!

It was the same story,
But with added glory.
There is another India,
Lying outside India.
One has to see her
In order to believe her.

In the present instance, it is a case of recognizing rather than seeing. We have forgotten her, so much so that we really need a reintroduction. Hardly ten years ago, Prof. George Coedès, a French savant, who is a great authority on the cultural history of Further India, remarked:—

> It is a curious thing that India proper has forgotten that her culture spread towards the east and south-east over territories as vast as herself. The Indian scholars have, until very recently, been quite ignorant of it. And it became necessary that a small group of them, having learned French and Dutch, should study under professors of the Universities of Paris and Leyden, to discover, in our work and in that of our Dutch and Javanese colleagues, the history of what they now call, with legitimate pride, GREATER INDIA.[1]

This defines, in a way, the scope of my lecture, and explains the title: "Eastward Expansion of Aryan Culture." It need hardly be pointed out that this title is capable of a much wider interpretation, inasmuch as it may apply equally well to the eastward movement of the Aryan people from somewhere in Asia Minor, as many scholars would have it, their appearance in North India as Vedic Aryans, and their further thrust into the south-east, along the river Ganges. We shall soon revert to this movement.

Returning to the remarks of Professor Coedès just quoted, I should like to add that they hold good even to this day, to a large extent. The small group alluded to by him, to strike a personal note, includes myself also, though I am ashamed to confess that I have not since pursued the subject so zealously as I ought to have done. We Indians are no doubt beholden to the Dutch, French and Indonesian pioneers in antiquarian research concerning Greater India. Following them, and drawing mainly upon the results of

[1] The original is in French. G. Coedes, *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi, 1944, Introduction, p. iii; reissued as *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* (*Historie du Monde*, publiee sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac, Tome VIII², Paris, 1948) Introduction, p. 4: "*Chose curieuse,*" etc.

their labours, certain Indian scholars, notable of whom are Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, have done much work to enlighten the Indian public on the subject through the medium of English. Similar contributions by some English scholars are also available now. And I know of a few works on the subject in Hindi as well. The field is, however, so vast that much still remains to be done.

Let me now present to you just a conspectus of the whole picture; for it is not possible to go into any details in a lecture like this. It would perhaps be best to split the subject into sections such as:

I Territories Comprising Greater India.

II Earliest Waves of Aryan Culture in Greater India.

III Nature of Aryan Culture in Greater India.

IV Duration of Aryan Culture in Greater India.

V How was Greater India a Replica of India Proper?

VI In What Way Had the Replica an Added Glory?

We shall deal with these sections one by one.

Territories Comprising Greater India. We have seen from the remarks of Professor Coedès how the term "Greater India" has come to mean those territories of the Far East whose ancient history was linked with India by cultural ties. Broadly speaking, these territories are: Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Annam, (excluding its northern part), the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago, notably the Islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and Celebes. We know them also by their Sanskrit names. Thus, Burma was known as Suvarṇabhūmi. Thailand, till recently called Siam, was anciently a part of Cambodia, which name is a contraction of the original name Kambuja or Kambujadeśa. The Sanskrit name for Annam is Champā. The Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago are together denoted by the term Suvarṇadvīpa, though each land and island must have had its own proper name also, as Yavadvīpa for Java. It may be specially noted that Suvarṇabhūmi is not to be confused with Suvarṇadvīpa.

The total area of these lands and islands may even exceed that of India proper. It has been remarked that but for the spread of Aryan culture in these territories, many of them might not have anything to present by way of ancient history, as is obviously the case with those regions in the Pacific Ocean that did not come into contact with Aryan culture, like New Guinea and Australia, for instance.

Earliest Waves of Aryan Culture in Greater India. The phenomenon of the spread of Aryan culture in these territories, which politically fall within the orbit of Chinese influence, is described as something unique and marvellous in the world's history. The question naturally arises, how did all this come to pass. Who were the people who carried this culture? What were their means of communication? What was the inducement for them to undertake such long and hazardous journeys and voyages? And in what manner did they spread their culture among these people, alien to them? Exact answers to such questions have not yet been found, but various theories and suppositions have been advanced. In the later stages we are on the surest ground, as archæology and epigraphy, supplemented by Chinese annals, come to our assistance.

It is fairly certain that this Aryanization was a long and steady process, extending over centuries, though there were periods of sudden efflorescence. Its beginnings are, however, hidden far in the hoary past. The possibility of the great sweeping wave of the Aryan people from Asia Minor, referred to above, extending to the trans-Gangetic countries, like Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and so on, is not altogether precluded. According to another theory, some groups of the Dravidian

people, after their defeat at the hands of the Vedic Aryan, or quite independently of such an event, penetrated to the regions of what we now call Greater India. Some antiquities of the prehistoric period found at various places in Greater India are said to point to affinities between the Dravidians of India and the various original races of Greater India. These, however, do not lead to any definite conclusion. Similarly, references in Valmīki's *Rāmayaṇa* to Java, etc., and the Burmese tradition connecting the earliest royal houses of Burma with the Kshatriyas of Kosala in India have not proved of any material help.

It is surmised that there was wave after wave of people going from various parts of India proper to various parts of Greater India. When, in the third century B.C., Aśoka sent missionaries outside India for the propagation of the Buddhist teachings, two monks, Śoṇa and Uttara, were sent also to Suvarṇabhūmi, *i.e.*, Burma. This is an indication that at that early date within the historic period, some communication between India and Greater India did exist. From the side of Greater India, the earliest concrete evidence of such a connection is afforded by a bronze statue of the Buddha, of the school of Amarāvatī, discovered at a neolithic site on the west coast of the island of Celebes. This would mean that Indians from the east coast of India had already by the third century of the Christian era penetrated so far into Greater India as Celebes. Conversely, certain Andhra coins, discovered in the region round Amarāvatī in India, show the device of a two-masted ship. This again proves the maritime activities of Indians during the early centuries of the Christian era. A significant addition to this numismatic evidence has recently been made in the shape of a Buddhist stone inscription of about the second or third century, which, eight years ago, I happened to discover at the old site of Ghaṇṭasāla (ancient Kaṇṭakasola), on the Coromandel coast, in the Krishna District. This site is allied to Amarāvatī. The inscription is a donative tablet, in the Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters, recording a charity by an *upāsikā*, a female lay worshipper, named Siddhārthamitrā, who is described as the wife of a *mahānāvika*, named Śivaka.[2] For our purpose, the term *mahānāvika*, denoting the rank and profession of Śivaka, is most significant. It means "sea-captain" or "master-mariner." Kaṇṭakasola, it may be pointed out, was a seaport in olden days. Ptolemy mentions it (VII, 1, 15), as the emporium of Kantakossyla, immediately beyond the mouths of Maisōlos, *i e.*, the river Kṛishṇā. It may be recalled that the father of Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*, assigned to about the second century, is also described as a *mahānāvika* (Tamil: *mānāikan*), *i.e.*, a sea-captain. These references conclusively prove that people from South India in those early days used to go on sea voyages.

I am tempted to cite another instance of a Buddhist *mahānāvika*. His name was Buddhagupta and he came from Raktamṛittīkā, identified with Rāṅgāmāṭī in Bengal. His inscription was found in Province Wellesley in the Malay Peninsula. The inscription is of a religious character and invokes blessings for a successful voyage (*siddhayātrāḥ santu*). It is in Sanskrit and in the Pallava-Grantha characters of about the fifth century. This is about the time of which we have found quite a number of stone inscriptions from Champā, Java, Borneo and other parts of Greater India. All these go to show a brisk intercourse between India and those far-off lands and islands during the early centuries of the Christian era.

As to what induced these Indians to embark upon such risky voyages, it is again supposed that they did so chiefly in quest of gold. When Roman gold ceased to flow into India, the Indian traders turned to the east. Traders

[2] Since published by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4, inscription *E*.

were thus perhaps the first adventurers to go to Greater India. Subsequently scholars and priests must also have accompanied such guilds of seafaring merchants, many of whom possibly chose to stay on in those foreign places. Glimpses of such a state of affairs are afforded by epigraphical data. Sanskrit inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, discovered in Kutei on the east coast of Borneo, dating from the beginning of the fifth century, for instance, speak of *viprair-ih-āgataiḥ*, "by the Brāhmans who have come here."[3] Such were the beginnings of social contacts and shows how the indigenous folk were attracted to the Indian immigrants.

Nature of Aryan Culture in Greater India. It is perhaps enough to say that what was found in India was also found in the contemporary Greater India, so far as culture in its broadest sense is concerned. But the Jain religion, though flourishing throughout and still very much alive in India, is, curiously enough, not known to have at any time stepped outside of India. As in India proper so also in Greater India, religion played a very great part both in the people's life and at the courts of kings. Members of the priestly caste enjoyed supreme honour everywhere.

Although ever since the time of Aśoka, that is to say from the middle of the third century B.C., Buddhism had been spreading far and wide outside of India, yet according to epigraphical evidence it was Brahmanism that was first to reach the territories of Greater India. Brahmanism expressed itself in three main forms: Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and the cult of Agastya. The worship of Śiva in the form of the *liṅga* grew as popular there as it was in India. The earliest Śiva temple was built in Champā, and it was called Bhadreśvara after the name of its builder, King Bhadravarman, according to a Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century found there. Another called Vaprakeśvara was in Borneo, as is known from the inscriptions of King Mūlavarman referred to above. A long *praśasti* engraved on stone at Changal in Central Java, bearing a date in the Śaka era, corresponding to 732 A.D., records the erection of a Śiva temple there. Statues of Durgā, Skanda, Gaṇeśa and other deities who share popular adoration with Śiva are also found.

Worship of Vishṇu was also very much in evidence, first in the form of his footprints and later also in human form, riding on his vehicle Garuḍa. The temple complex at Angkor in Cambodia is a marvel of architecture and sculpture for the whole world.

The cult of Agastya found a most congenial home in Greater India, especially in Java. His popularity in South India is well known, but his worship in Java was far more widespread.

Buddhism may have penetrated into Greater India about the same time as Brahmanism, if not earlier, but no epigraph attesting to this has so far come to light. The period of which we possess some definite information regarding the existence of Buddhism in these eastern regions begins from the fifth century. Later on Buddhism grew rapidly and overshadowed Brahmanism. In the Śailendra monarchs Buddhism found the most zealous devotees. The world-famous *stūpa* complex of Borobudur in Java, a worthy rival of the Angkor temple complex in Cambodia, was built by these Śailendras.

The greatest and the most abiding gift given by India to Greater India is perhaps the Sanskrit language, which originally served as the vehicle of Aryan culture, but later permeated the hundreds of indigenous languages and dialects of those regions, greatly influencing them and increasing their vocabularies, a phenomenon with which we are so familiar in India, where Sanskrit has played a similar rôle. A parallel of this gift was the gift of

[3] See J. Ph. Vogel's article on the *Yupa* Inscriptions of King Mulavarman, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, deel 74 (1918), p. 214.

the Brāhmī script which is the mother of all the modern scripts of Greater India, as it is of all the modern scripts in India proper, too. Dr. J. Gonda, a Dutch Indologist, Professor of Sanskrit and Indonesian Linguistics at the University of Utrecht in Holland, has laid the world of Indologists under a debt of gratitude by his comprehensive treatise on the subject, in English, entitled *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, published only last year at Nagpur in India.

The ancient literature of Greater India, especially of Java and Bali, is very vast. It contains original Sanskrit texts and adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas*, and various Sanskrit poetical compositions of India. The best exposition of the Bharatanāṭya is perhaps still to be found in Java. In short, everything that we have inherited from the Aryan culture here in India is found in some form or other in Greater India too.

Duration of Aryan Culture in Greater India. There is a parallel between India and Greater India, so far as the setback received by Aryan culture is concerned. The introduction of Islam by the Arab invaders, that of Christianity by the Portugese, the Dutch and the French, and the exploitation practised by all these in succession, are some of the common features.

Aryan culture flourished in Greater India from about the second century to the beginning of the 16th, by which time Islam had established itself firmly in many parts, with the notable exception of the small island of Bali, where Aryan culture still persists.

How Was Greater India a Replica of India Proper? This question is perhaps best answered by saying that the two regions, so distant from each other, were living an identical life, quite independent of each other. There was no question of political dependence or allegiance on either side. The social customs, the laws, the religious practices, the amusements, all had common bases. There was variety in outward forms and style, but the springs of inspiration were identical. Freedom was the watchword, and friendship the strongest bond.

In What Way Had the Replica an Added Glory? The added glory of the Aryan culture of Greater India consisted in the spirit in which it absorbed the best of culture and religion as they came in successive waves. In India proper, Brahmanism was opposed to Buddhism, but this rivalry or animosity was absent in Greater India. There were combined shrines dedicated to Śiva and the Buddha, called Śiva-Buddhālayas. India proper has no such thing to her credit. Again, in the sphere of religious art, the zeal of Greater India has, in some cases at least, outshone that of India proper. To quote Professor Sylvain Levi, another famous French Indologist, India

> has produced her unsurpassed masterpieces only by the action of the foreigner or in a foreign land....In architecture, it is in remote Cambodia and Java that the two marvellous results of the Indian genius, Angkor and Borobudur, must be sought.[4]

In this sketchy picture, I have naturally omitted many events of great importance. But if it has succeeded in exciting some interest in the subject, my object has been achieved.

What stands out in bold relief in the whole picture is the fact that the spread of Aryan culture in the lands and islands of the Far East is characterized as a purely cultural conquest by peaceful penetration. There was no attempt at a military conquest or annexation in the name of a state or government. It was a case of free peoples giving and accepting free gifts.

Let me close this discourse with some apt quotations from the editorial of *The Times* of London, of so recent a date as June 27, 1953, reproduced in *The Mail* of Madras, of June 29, 1953. Commenting on what it calls Indian Leadership of South-East Asia, *The Times* says:—

[4] Quoted by Coedes, *op. cit.*, Hanoi, p. 330; Paris, p. 423.

Sri Nehru has sometimes been accused of aiming at the leadership of South-East Asia. He has always disclaimed any such ambition. Yet simple observation shows that this leadership, however unsought it may be by Indians themselves, is now a factor to be reckoned with in international affairs.

Seeking historical reasons behind all this, *The Times* says:—

These countries turned to India for counsel and even guidance, all the more readily, because there was little in the long story of their ancient cultural and commercial connexion with India which was offensive to their national pride or to their determination to preserve their political independence. The Indian colonists, missionaries, scholars, and traders who for centuries carried the light of Indian learning to the remotest corners of South-East Asia were not conquerors. They followed only the ways of peace. Yet their work has endured to the present time, and its effects may stretch far into the future.

May the prediction of *The Times* come true!

B. CH. CHHABRA

A VOLUME OF POETRY

The *Collected Poems* of Miss Stella Gibbons (Longmans, Green and Co., 1950) have been brought out in a beautifully bound *de luxe* edition by the Collector's Book Club, London. The author, whose novel, *Cold Comfort Farm*, won her the coveted Femina Vie Heureuse Prize in 1933, reveals in these pages a different side of her character from that which has won her fame as a satirist. True, the "sword of angry laughter" has not been sheathed, but other poems offer healing for the hurt inflicted in a deep, understanding sympathy with the pain of ugliness and loneliness, the rebellion against apparently innocent suffering which Miss Gibbons years ago confessed to having found a stumbling-block to faith. The social conscience speaks in some; others are full of quaint conceits.

As the title indicates, many of these poems have appeared before. Two of the most memorable, "The Legend of the Mountain Beast" and "The Lowland Venus," gave their names to previous collections. "The Little Boys" and "Lullaby for a Baby Toad" are delightful; "The Dance" quickens the pulse.

Many of these poems recall Miss Gibbons's description of herself in the May 1938 *Aryan Path* as a "confirmed God-struggler." The shadow of mortality falls across many a page, but ever and again the heart rebels against the reason's counsel of negation. One senses the writer's regret that reason has the last word in "A Dialogue." Happily, in the last two poems, "Swallows of Ruhelegen" and "Fairford Church," she lays firm hold on the hem of the garment of faith in recognizing that the tide of living "flows on in glory" and that "the Spirit is nigh."

E. M. H.

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"_____ *ends of verse*
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

Why should a work of art if obsessed with sordidness be held to be more "realistic" than one showing life's noble side? The best of such writing may be medicinal in small doses but it affords a daily diet only for perversity. Mr. Van Wyck Brooks, eminent critic and literary historian, makes his case against this misconception with force and eloquence in his brochure, *Writers and the Future*, part of a forthcoming book. (The Spiral Press, New York.) In it he calls on writers instead "to celebrate the grandeur of humanity," to see man not only as one whom "things are done to," but also as one who does things to his environment. The "augmenters" of human life are

those who retrieve our confidence in man and in man's latent capacities and creative powers, appealing to his honour and good faith while relying upon his possession of these, an attitude that has worked wonders in education.

He would have more reading of the writers who practise "the art of cure," for which, according to Ezra Pound, the "cult of beauty" stands and less of the "diagnostic writers" who serve the reigning "cult of ugliness."

He criticizes recent writing for its preoccupation with suffering; its blurring of moral distinctions and its "tight-lipped silence" on "the feelings that make us men."

In short, let us put an end to the "cult of callousness," as Lewis Mumford calls it,—the insensitive, brutal,—that cult of immaturity, good for blustering boys alone, which is really based on nothing but the fear of life.

The centenary of an ill-omened piece of legislation falls this year, that of England's Compulsory Vaccination Act, which, after a long struggle, was repealed only in 1946. The experience of England, brought into focus in the publications of its National Anti-Vaccination League, needs to be studied by the municipalities, states and nations which still pin their faith to this hardy medical fetish which has been discredited by its record.

Only unfamiliarity with the facts or wilful blindness can account for the ignoring of the many fatalities, especially among children, which have resulted from vaccination; of its failure to guarantee immunity from smallpox, so spectacularly proved in the British army in Mesopotamia during the first world war; of the cruelty to calves involved in preparing vaccine; of the unwisdom of poisoning the human blood stream with diseased animal matter; and of the demonstrated fact that smallpox can be virtually eliminated by raising sanitation, nutrition and housing standards.

Whereas Australia, with its high standard of living, has demonstrated the possibility of control of smallpox without mass vaccination, Mexico has found even compulsory vaccination ineffective in preventing a high mortality rate from smallpox. Indian officials should ponder over the account, in the Public Health Commissioner's Report for 1936, of the terrible smallpox epidemic of that year, in which Calcutta, where vaccination had been compulsory for decades, showed an outstandingly high mortality from the disease. How long shall victims continue to be sacrificed to this modern Moloch, when open-minded examination of the record would show the practice to be as ineffective and unnecessary as it is dangerous?

Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras State, inaugurating at Madras on September 13th the All-India Conference sponsored by the

Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, offered the slogan of self-control to solve the conflict of ideologies. India stood traditionally neither for unrestricted liberty nor for all-round State regulation, but for self-restraint which neither offered free play to individual ambitions nor involved all-round State regulation. He described self-restraint, control from within, as the characteristic fundamental of Indian thought, not only to be found in the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Iśo Vasya Upanishad*, from which he quoted, but also emphasized in recent days by Gandhiji, "with the whole force of a political revolution behind it."

While admitting that the truth is not entirely disclosed to man, he insisted on unqualified respect for what we believe for the time being to be the truth, and he equated truth with moral values, from the restraints of which none could be free. Vigorously as he repudiated the Totalitarian definition of truth as whatever the ruling party agreed to be good for the people, he recognized that State regulation, which held the possibilities of tyranny, had begun as "a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate individual freedom and the greed and competition that resulted from it."

He advocated, therefore, that instead of making "freedom," which might deteriorate into licence, "the banner of our struggle against Communism," we should set up as our battle standard the restraint of our activities based on moral values.

If the free countries would not only disavow the pragmatic attitude towards moral values but go on to take self-control as their slogan in all sincerity, they would not only be able to show a united front and enlist the support of countries now holding aloof from both ideologies; they would also, as the speaker pointed out, save the world from the threat of anarchy as well as from "the slavery of totalitarianism."

After eight years of work (1944-52) the Poona Philosophy Union has published an extremely condensed report of its proceedings. Its object is the worthy one of encouraging and sustaining among the public a love of philosophical discussion of fundamental questions. Accordingly, it has taken for its province not only philosophy in a strict, academic sense but also "the fundamental principles of any systematic study or any important province of experience."

The 60 lectures and papers given before the Union so far were contributed by visitors from outside as well as some of the many brilliant scholars of Poona. One might make a friendly suggestion that a little more attention could perhaps be given to Indian philosophy. The Union has, however, to some extent drawn upon vernacular learning and tradition by welcoming talks in Marathi and Hindi when speakers had studied most in those languages.

We hope that the Union's intention to keep detailed minutes of its future meetings and thus give us a fairly full report of its interesting discussions will be realized.

Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, has brought out a small book, *A Vision of Future India* (69 pp. Re. 1/-), which contains the late Shri Mashruwala's exposition of the Sarvodaya ideal in land reform and its implications with regard to the Five Year Plan. Two essential principles stand out from a very complex and detailed discussion: that the India of the future must have a thoroughly decentralized system, in which political powers will fundamentally reside in the smallest autonomous units and only a necessary few will be delegated to the provincial and central governments; and that the attitude toward property must be that of trusteeship. Both these are profound principles.